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By Joel Stein

TIME

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An MQ-9 Reaper is parked at New Mexico's Holloman Air Force Base, a training ground for drone operators. Photograph by Sean Hemmerle—Contact

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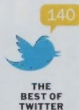
The New Pontiff

Can an Argentine Cardinal fix the Catholic Church?

"THE NEEDY, THE POOR—THAT IS THE SOUL OF THE church," said **Frank Bruni** of the *New York Times* in a discussion on MSNBC's *Morning Joe* about Pope Francis and TIME's March 25 cover story, "New World Pope," by **Howard Chua-Eoan**. Some readers yearned to know more about the political leanings of Francis, the first Pontiff from Latin America. Will he "blast gay marriage right at the beginning?" asked a commenter on TIME.com. Others demanded more information on the new Pontiff's alleged involvement in Argentina's "dirty war" against leftists in the 1970s. "Interesting approach, though no mention whatsoever to links to dictatorship," wrote @sonqocha on Twitter. The story, which went to press five hours after the Pope's election was revealed, was hailed for pairing depth with speed. Media-news site Min Online said Chua-Eoan's "detailed" examination came "in the nick of TIME." The cover art, posted on Twitter within hours of the announcement, was shared widely. "That was fast!" tweeted television reporter **Elizabeth Erwin**.



A NEW CHAPTER
TIME's 96-page book on Pope Francis will be on newsstands on March 29



In TIME's third annual list of the 140 must-follow Twitter feeds, our social-media editors pick the most influential voices in categories ranging from politics to fashion, technology and sports. Starting on March 22, let us know what you think of our choices on TIME.com or by using the hashtag #Twitter140.

TIME 100 Poll

Who are your favorites?

The annual TIME 100 online poll gives readers a chance to cast their vote for the world's most influential leaders, artists, innovators and icons. While TIME's editors ultimately decide who makes the final TIME 100 list, you can cast your ballot in the reader's-choice poll at time.com/time100 beginning March 28. Official voting ends on Friday, April 5.



Clockwise from top left: Rand Paul, Jennifer Lawrence, Chris Christie, Mohamed Morsi, Aung San Suu Kyi



LIFE.COM WINDOW DRESSING

In 1954, as Americans grew obsessed with calorie counting, LIFE declared willpower "the only cure" to obesity and followed Kentucky nurse Dorothy Bradley, above, on her quest to shed pounds. On March 22, for National Nutrition Month, LIFE.com features a gallery of striking images, including this one of Bradley eyeing a slim-fitting dress in a store window. Find them at LIFE.com.

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FUNNY HOW A GUEST FORGETTING A CHARGER HELPED US REMEMBER WHAT WE DO FOR A LIVING.

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Briefing

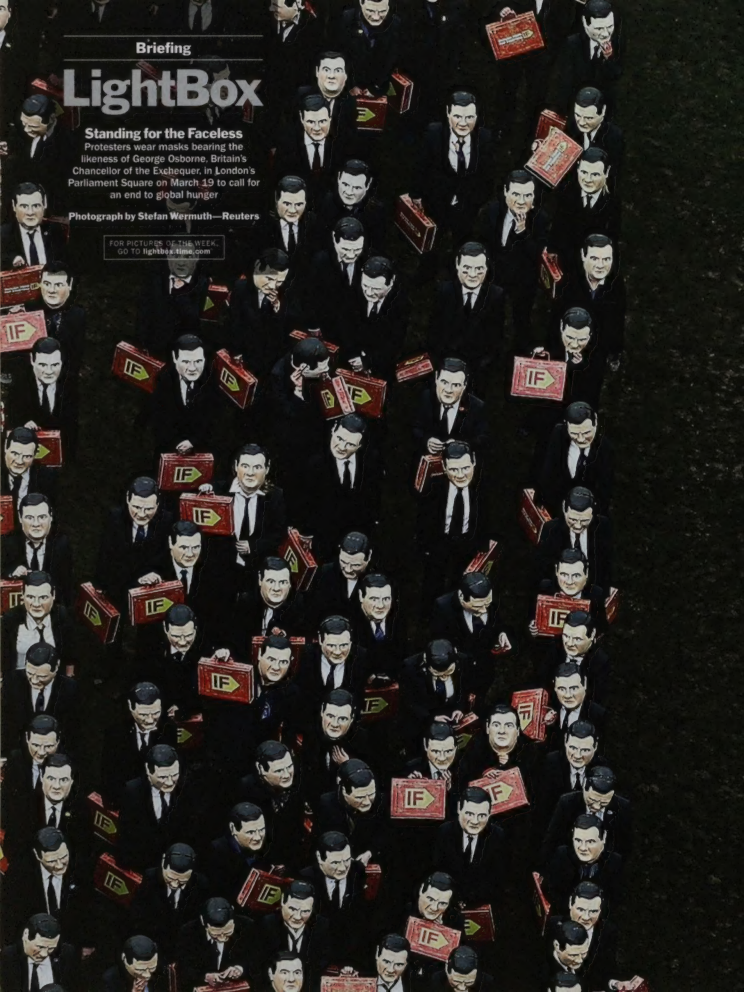
LightBox

Standing for the Faceless

Protesters wear masks bearing the likeness of George Osborne, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, in London's Parliament Square on March 19 to call for an end to global hunger

Photograph by Stefan Wermuth—Reuters

FOR PICTURES OF THE WEEK,
GO TO lightbox.time.com





World

A Giant Leap for Pakistani Democracy

BY OMAR WARAICH/ISLAMABAD

Five years ago, few would have predicted that Pakistan's new civilian-led democratic government could last. It would be, after all, an unprecedented feat in the nation's 65-year history: every previous elected government was brought down by a military coup or subtler means. And yet it's March 2013, and the government has survived its full five-year term.

But there's much more work to do. Although the government, led by President Asif Ali Zardari, has made notable advances—

allowing dissenting opinions and passing important constitutional amendments—the country faces persistent threats: flood damage, terrorism, power struggles, a sluggish economy, insurgencies, tensions with India and more.

That's why many Pakistanis are eagerly anticipating elections on May 11. Fears loom that the campaign may turn bloody, as the previous one did when Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Zardari's wife, was assassinated in late 2007. Still, this will be Pakistan's first opportunity to replace one government with another at the ballot box. That's worth celebrating.



In Islamabad on March 18, a man walks past billboards showing, from left, Zardari, Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi and Prime Minister Raja Pervaz Ashraf

ISRAEL

'The state of Israel will have no greater friend than the United States.'

PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA, speaking in Jerusalem during a joint appearance with Israeli President Shimon Peres. Obama, seen here with Israeli Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu, made his first visit to Israel as President at a moment when relations between the two countries are strained over Iran's nuclear progress and the stalled Israeli-Palestinian peace process



DATA

THE WORLD'S BIGGEST WEAPONS IMPORTERS

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute tallied each country's share of global conventional-arms imports using data from 2008 to 2012. Here's who's stocking up most



12% INDIA



6% CHINA



5% PAKISTAN



5% SOUTH KOREA



4% SINGAPORE

SOURCE: SIPRI

The Three Biggest Challenges Facing U.K. Media Reformers



In response to rampant phone hacking, politicians have compromised on a deal to allow an independent self-regulatory group to establish and enforce new media standards—a move that's facing considerable pushback from publishers who say press freedom is at stake.

1. ASSEMBLING A BOARD

In order to ensure objectivity, a government commissioner will oversee the appointment of five to nine people who have leadership and public-policy-making experience and are independent of the civil service, politics and the press.

2. SETTING NEW STANDARDS

The regulations would prioritize individual rights and the public interest, curbing the publication of inaccurate and libelous material. But because they can't be changed without a two-thirds majority in both houses of Parliament, many worry that politics and the press could become dangerously intertwined.

3. ENFORCING THE CHANGE

Although publishers can legally opt out of submitting to the watchdog group, they risk increasing the already severe punishments that'll be levied if they're caught breaking its new code: heavy fines (up to \$1.5 million) and corrections or apologies—potentially on the front page.



An Unintended Target

SOMALIA A woman grieves near the presidential palace in Mogadishu after a suicide car bomber hit a civilian minibus, killing at least 10 people, on March 18; his intended target was the city's security chief, who was riding in a nearby government vehicle, according to police. Responsibility for the attack was claimed by al-Shabab, an al-Qaeda-linked militant group, as revenge for the recent killings of some of its members. Photograph by Mohamed Abdiwahab—AFP/Getty Images



\$30 MILLION

Valuation of a portrait by Dutch painter Rembrandt after an expert concluded that the 17th century artist, not one of his pupils, created it

Roundup

Warlords who turned themselves in

Congolese general Bosco Ntaganda, accused of enforcing sexual slavery and recruiting child soldiers, turned himself in at the U.S. embassy in Kigali, Rwanda, and asked for a lift to the International Criminal Court. He's not the first.

Harold Keke

Surrendered to Australian-led peacekeepers in 2003 after four years of ethnic-driven terror in the Solomon Islands. He's serving a life sentence.



Gedeon Kyungu Mutanga

Surrendered to U.N. peacekeepers in 2006 for crimes against humanity by his Mai Mai rebels in the Democratic Republic of Congo. He escaped from jail in 2011 and remains at large.



Mohamed Dheere

Surrendered to the Somali government in 2007 as the last warlord to withhold support. He became mayor of Mogadishu months later and died in 2012.



Bibi Ayesha (Kaftar)

Surrendered to the Afghan government in 2008, for the second time, after her decades-long career of fighting Soviet soldiers and the Taliban.



Trending In



MUSIC

David Bowie topped the U.K. album chart for the first time in 30 years with *The Next Days*, selling 94,000 copies in a week.



MOVIES

Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon stars **Michelle Yeeoh** won a lifetime-achievement honor at the Asian Film Awards in Hong Kong.



TECH

Hacktivists loyal to Syria's Bashar Assad breached the **Human Rights Watch** website and spread messages that its reports are lies.



SPORTS

Greek soccer star **Giorgos Katidis**, 30, was barred for life from playing for his national team for celebrating a goal with a Nazi salute.



Nation

Growing Pains. Can the GOP learn to believe in change?

BY MICHAEL SCHERER
AND ZEKE MILLER

REPUBLICAN PARTY BOSS

Reince Priebus, a pin-striped lawyer from Wisconsin, recently let slip that he wanted a date with Whoopi Goldberg and her friends. "We have to stop divorcing ourselves from the American culture," he explained on March 18 as he laid out his plan to rebuild the party after its 2012 election defeat. "Maybe that might mean I could get an invitation with the ladies of *The View*. We'll see."

Most party chairmen try to avoid the headlines. But in recent weeks, Priebus has adopted a pose of brutal candor, trying to stir up his party with dire predictions and frank language. "Our message was weak. Our ground game was insufficient. We weren't inclusive. We were behind in both data and digital. Our primary and debate process needed improvement," he said, diagnosing all that went wrong in last year's campaign. "There's no one solution," Priebus continued. "There's a long list of them."

The solutions Priebus proposed include an overhaul not just of campaign mechanics but also the basic DNA that has helped to define the party of Reagan, Bush and Romney over three decades. Stop at tackling popular culture, and start becoming a part of it, he says. Open a party office near San Francisco to attract

high-tech hipsters. Cut the number of primary debates in half. Spend \$10 million a year to send full-time organizers into minority communities. Dump or moderate the policy positions that are turning off the next generation of voters.

"We must embrace and champion comprehensive immigration reform," one part of the Priebus report urges, contradicting the official 2012 party platform, which opposes "any form of amnesty" for the 11 million undocumented immigrants in the U.S.: "If we do not, our party's appeal will continue to shrink." It also recommends opening a debate within the party over opposition to gay marriage. "For many younger voters, these issues are a gateway into whether the party is a place they want to be," says the report. For Priebus, the new watchword must be

inclusiveness: "Our 80% friend is not our 20% enemy."

Ari Fleischer, a former aide to President George W. Bush who worked with Priebus on the report, says he hopes the party takes these messages to heart and revises its philosophy. Otherwise, he says, "It is a very bleak picture for Republicans." Already, he notes, the current GOP message of small government and low taxes is not enough to attract more than minimal interest among minorities and the young. "Devastatingly, we have lost the ability to be persuasive," he says.

Since November, Priebus, Fleischer and others have canvassed more than 50,000 people, including much of the Republican establishment. Focus groups of former Republican voters in Ohio and Iowa evinced descriptions of the GOP like "scary,"

"narrow-minded," "stuffy old men" and "out of touch." Even the party's campaign managers and operatives were nearly unanimous in crediting Democrats with running better campaigns in almost all respects: data, voter targeting, outreach, turnout, online fundraising, ad placement and campaign talent.

In Brooklyn, conservative black clergy told Priebus about the harm done by Republican efforts to cleanse voter rolls. In Denver, Hispanic Republicans talked about the pain caused by Mitt Romney's promise of "self-deportation." In California, Priebus met with an elected Asian-American Republican who regularly sees 10 Democrats at community events she attends alone. Even the donors were restless. "Look, you are young. You are smart. If you want a job, I'll give you





a job down the hallway," Priebus remembers a major Republican donor in New York City telling him in December. "But here's the deal. If you are not going to be big and bold, don't waste my time. Don't waste your kids' time. Don't waste your wife's time."

Republican leaders say they like the proposed changes.

House Speaker John Boehner and majority leader Eric Cantor have embraced the report; so has former House Speaker and occasional presidential candidate Newt Gingrich. The question now is whether the conservative base of the party is willing to come along for a big and bold ride. Some of the immediate reviews are not so positive. John Tate, the 2012 campaign manager for Ron Paul, said the Priebus plans to shorten the primary process and move away from caucuses could tilt the playing field to

well-funded establishment candidates. "They are recommending doing exactly the opposite of what they should be doing to reactivate the grassroots and increase the base of the party," he said.

Priebus made his proposals at the very moment when the uncompromising guardians of the party's right wing had gathered outside of Washington to bash the capital's consultant class—that collection of professional campaign technicians who know winning in presidential elections means keeping the party from veering too far to the right. "Stop listening to the professional politicians and consultants most responsible for those political train wrecks," warned longtime activist L. Brent Bozell III in a typical turn that garnered huge applause. Other mainstays of social conservatism, like the

Eagle Forum's Phyllis Schlafly and Faith and Freedom Coalition chairman Ralph Reed, warn that they will fight any effort to change the party's approach to gay marriage. "If someone tries," warns Reed, "they're going to have to get through me." Says Tony Perkins of the Family Research Council: "Obviously the RNC report was designed to pander to the GOP's wealthy elites."

Back at his office two blocks from the U.S. Capitol, Priebus sounds no less determined as he sits before a color-coded congressional map of the country, still mostly red, despite the fact that House Democratic candidates attracted about 1.4 million more votes in 2012 than Republicans did. "I am not going to sit here," he says, "and grind away as chairman of the party and do the same old thing that has always been done."

'OUR MESSAGE WAS WEAK. OUR GROUND GAME WAS INSUFFICIENT. THERE'S NO ONE SOLUTION. THERE'S A LONG LIST OF THEM.'

—REINCE PRIEBUS, RNC CHAIRMAN

Science

Water World A deep ocean on a distant moon may have all the right ingredients for life

BY MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

LET'S GET TWO THINGS STRAIGHT. FIRST, WE don't know if there are fish on Europa, one of Jupiter's largest moons. Second, we don't know there aren't any.

What we do know is that Europa has water—perhaps a vast, globe-girdling ocean up to 100 miles deep, beneath a rind of fractured ice as little as 10 miles thick. And all that's missing to make Europa's ocean like Earth's oceans—in other words, habitable—are salt and organic compounds.

Now, thanks to new surveys conducted with the Keck II telescope in Hawaii, we know those ingredients are there, adding critical seasonings to what could, just possibly, be a soup of life.

Europa owes its watery state to its sister moons, which pluck it gravitationally as they pass, flexing its interior and heating it up. This keeps the ice in its depths melted and perhaps even warm. With that in mind, planetary scientist Mike Brown of Caltech used Keck observations to study sodium traces in the atmosphere as well as on and inside the moon. Turns out, he found: there's not only magnesium sulfate salt on Europa's surface but also likely sodium chloride—ordinary sea salt—in its ocean. What's more, venting from cracks in the ice indicates that material from below reaches the surface and material on the surface regularly flows back down.

Why is that important? Because Europa has been tattooed by many comets in its long life, and comets are known carriers of organic, or carbon-containing, compounds. Salt plus organics plus warmth plus water? "I'm not an expert on life," says Brown, "but I do know that if you dip a net in the ocean here, you're bound to pick up something."

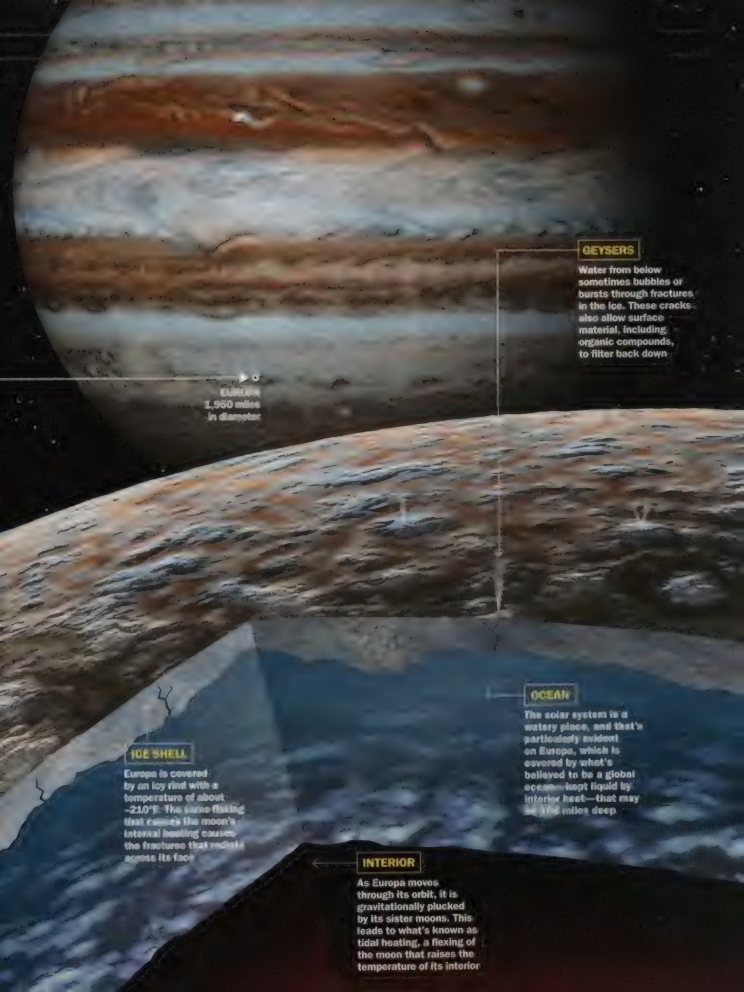
MY DAD'S BIGGER THAN YOUR DAD

Europa and our moon are very similar in size. But their parent planets? Not even close. Earth is dwarfed by Jupiter, which is sometimes thought of as a failed star.



SULFUR RESIDUE

Much of one hemisphere is dusted with sulfur, which drifts from volcanoes on the nearby moon Io. These eruptions are the result of the same tidal heating that warms Europa.



Europa
1,960 miles
in diameter

GEYSERS

Water from below sometimes bubbles or bursts through fractures in the ice. These cracks also allow surface material, including organic compounds, to filter back down.

ICE SHELL

Europa is covered by an icy rind with a temperature of about -210°F . The same flexing that causes the moon's internal heating causes the fractures that crackle across its face.

OCEAN

The solar system is a watery place, and that's particularly evident on Europa, which is covered by what's believed to be a global ocean—kept liquid by interior heat—that may be 300 miles deep.

INTERIOR

As Europa moves through its orbit, it is gravitationally plucked by its sister moons. This leads to what's known as tidal heating, a flexing of the moon that raises the temperature of its interior.

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Milestones



ENROLLED

Malala Yousafzai Education activist

When she first started blogging in 2009 about the Taliban takeover of her hometown of Mitor, Pakistan, one of the most searing entries detailed how Malala Yousafzai, then 11, could no longer wear her school uniform on the streets, lest she become a target of the extremists who would ban girls' education. Briefly, the militants prevailed, and for several months her school, along with hundreds of others in the mountainous district of Swat, was closed. "They cannot stop me," a defiant Malala proclaimed at the time. "I will get my education, if it is in home, school or any place." When the government regained control, Malala returned to class a relentless campaigner for girls' right to education. On Oct. 9, 2012, the Taliban tried to silence her with a bullet to the head. She was airlifted to Birmingham, England, for emergency care, becoming in the process a worldwide symbol of education rights. Five months and several surgeries later, Malala is back in a school uniform, albeit the kelly green and navy of Birmingham's Edgbaston High School for Girls, where she is expected to finish her education. Wearing the uniform makes her proud, says Malala, now 15, "because it proves that I am a student and that I am living my life and learning. I want all girls in the world to have this basic opportunity." Because of Malala's courage, they may. —ARYN BAKER

DIED
Cartha DeLoach, 92, a top aide to longtime FBI director J. Edgar Hoover; as the agency's liaison to the White House, he was an influential intermediary between Hoover and President Lyndon Johnson.

IDENTIFIED
Thieves behind the biggest art heist in U.S. history; the FBI did not reveal their names. Paintings by Rembrandt, Vermeer and others, worth \$500 million, were stolen from Boston's Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in 1990.



DIED
Booth Gardner, 76, two-term governor of Washington; after leaving office, he backed the Death with Dignity campaign that led to his state's passage of the nation's second assisted-suicide law.

SIGNED
Gun laws expanding background checks and restricting ammo magazines in Colorado, eight months after a mass shooting in Aurora killed 12 people and wounded 58.

DIED
Seven U.S. Marines, when a mortar round unexpectedly exploded during a training exercise in Nevada; the military has halted use of the rounds while it conducts an investigation.

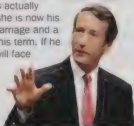
DIED
Jim Barrett, 86, winner whose Napa Valley chardonnay won the 1976 Judgment of Paris competition, flooring the Euro-centric wine world and boosting California's nascent wine industry.

ADVANCED

Mark Sanford

'We all hope for a second chance.'

SANFORD, former governor of South Carolina, after finishing first in a special Republican primary for the vacant seat in the state's 1st Congressional District. Once a conservative star, Sanford seemed to have a dim political future after he disappeared for six days in 2009, telling aides he was hiking the Appalachian Trail when he was actually visiting his mistress in Argentina (she is now his fiancée). The affair cost him his marriage and a censure, though Sanford finished his term. If he wins a runoff on April 2, Sanford will face Democratic nominee Elizabeth Colbert Busch, the sister of comedian Stephen Colbert.



AWARDED

Toyo Ito

Pritzker Architecture Prize

In his four-decade career, Toyo Ito, 71, has stubbornly resisted aesthetic dogma, embracing whatever forms and materials that best served his goal of reconciling the public and the private, the individual and the communal. And unlike so many architects who preen over their finished work, the Japanese architect says completing a building only makes him "painfully aware of my own inadequacy." "Therefore,"

Ito said after receiving his profession's highest honor, "I will never fix my architectural style and never be satisfied with my works." But at least one building does satisfy him: the Sendai Mediatheque, a glass-walled public library supported by a visible latticework of steel tubes, inspired by the idea of floating seaweed.

Fragile at first glance, the structure withstood Japan's devastating 2011 earthquake. Recalling its 2001 opening, Ito said, "That was the time I really felt I was glad to have become an architect." —BEN GOLDBERGER



← Ito's Porta Fira Hotel

Rana Foroohar

Continental Commitment Issues

Tiny Cyprus and its debt crisis show how much Europe still needs a more perfect union



IF YOU'D ASKED ME A FEW DAYS AGO what my biggest worry about the global economy was, I wouldn't have said Europe. It's not that the situation there is good. It's not, and it hasn't been for years. But its trajectory at least seemed pretty clear: a year or two of recession followed by several more of slow growth, as Europe inched its way toward real fiscal and political union, which everyone agrees is a must in the long term if the euro zone is to remain intact.

But given what's happened in Cyprus over the past few days, I find myself asking how committed Europe really is to that goal—and to the union itself. The Cypriot bailout, in which it was initially proposed that mom-and-pop depositors be left with a sizable chunk of the bill, has upset markets and renewed fears about whether the euro zone will survive in its current form. That matters not only because Europe is about a quarter of the global economy but also because the E.U. is perhaps the world's most benign example of globalization. If it fails, that has big consequences.

THE FLAWED CYPRUS DEAL SAYS A LOT ABOUT the forest-for-the-trees nature of the euro-zone crisis. It's been clear for months that Cyprus, which has the disastrous public finances typical of southern European nations, would need a bailout in the neighborhood of €17 billion to avoid defaulting out of the euro zone. The troika of powers managing things in Europe—the E.U., the European Central Bank and the IMF—said they'd pony up only €10 billion, in good part because the Germans didn't want to offer a larger loan when there was a decent chance that the Cypriots would default.

On the one hand, the Germans' concerns are understandable. They feel they've done everything right, worked hard, liberalized their economy, kept debt and unemployment low—why should they support spendthrift southern European nations? But those feelings underscore the fundamental rifts in the euro zone that have always existed between the economically strong core countries like Germany and the weaker southern nations. And they also belie the fact that Germany, as an export powerhouse, has grown rich off the euro and has as much—and perhaps even more—to lose as any other nation from the disintegration of Europe. If Germany gets stuck with a stronger currency and

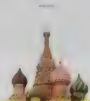
SNOWBALL EFFECT

Size of Cyprus economy in relation to the euro zone's



OUTSIDE CLOUT

Cyprus has 1.1 million citizens, and its GDP is just 0.2% of the overall European economy, but as a member of the euro zone, it can endanger the stability of the currency



RUSSIAN RICHES

Cyprus' banks have an estimated \$30 billion worth of deposits from wealthy Russians and Russian companies, leading to accusations that Cyprus is a haven for money laundering

weaker trading partners, it won't be a pretty picture.

The crisis in Cyprus also exposes a trust gap between local populations and elected officials in Europe that has been widening since the European crisis began. "The population is quickly losing confidence in the political order," warns Mohamed El-Erian, CEO of PIMCO, the world's largest bond trader, who is worried about the social-stability effect of the Cyprus mess. There's a sense among Europeans that politicians are willing to hang them out to dry when things get tough. That's not Europe-specific, of course. You could argue that the same thing happened in the U.S. after the financial crisis of 2008, when large banks were saved but homeowners didn't get as much help as they might have early on.

The current Cypriot government was voted in because it promised to protect bank deposits. Even if small depositors end up safe—even if Cyprus doesn't become the economic equivalent of the assassination of Austrian Archduke Ferdinand, which started World War I—the damage to trust has been done. As Julian Jessop, chief economist for Capital Economics in London, points out, "The economy of Cyprus is just 0.2% of the euro-zone total. If the E.U. is unwilling to cut a better deal for such a small economy at minimal cost, what chance is there for bigger ones?"

THAT MAY BE THE POINT. IT'S QUITE POSSIBLE that Cyprus is a warning shot by Germany for Spain and Italy or even France, making it clear that they'd better stay on the road to austerity because Germans aren't about to keep bailing out weaker states. Their commitment to European unity has limits.

That matters, because the E.U. represents the best of globalization. And this brings up an even bigger question: Are we finally witnessing real pushback against globalization, the sort that has been widely (and thus far falsely) predicted since the financial crisis of 2008? If globalization is defined as the free movement of goods, people and capital around the world, we haven't done badly when it comes to the first two. But the movement of capital has slowed. As a new report from the McKinsey Global Institute shows, cross-border capital flows are down precipitously from 2007, in large part because European banks simply aren't lending across borders anymore. It's a trust deficit that could eventually have consequences for us all—just as the assassination of an Austrian Archduke once did.

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Michael Grunwald

Give In to the Irrational GOP

Obama should cave on tax hikes if he can achieve his other goals



IN A RATIONAL WORLD, REPUBLICANS would get the blame for the budget mess in Washington. In the George W. Bush era, they frittered impressive surpluses into unprecedented deficits. In 2011 they threatened to force the U.S. government into default if President Obama didn't accept massive spending cuts, essentially taking the global economy hostage; the current sequester was part of their ransom. And now, even though the deficit is shrinking, even though just about everyone agrees that the sequester's haphazard cuts will damage a fragile economy, GOP leaders won't even discuss an alternative that includes new tax revenue.

Unfortunately, we don't live in a rational world. The Beltway establishment recognizes the intransigence of the GOP, but the capital's scorekeepers are incapable of blaming just one side. Their solution to the stalemate is just like Obama's: a mix of spending cuts and tax hikes. But they still can't resist pox-on-both-houses narratives. Why won't Obama lead?

THE ANSWER IS THAT THE PRESIDENT ISN'T omnipotent; he can't bend the opposition to his will through schmoozing or fortitude. And Obama has already compromised, agreeing to \$1.5 trillion in spending cuts and even proposing modest entitlement reforms. The only way Obama could fulfill the punditocracy's dreams of bipartisan agreement would be to drop his demand for new revenues and cave to the tax-phobic Republicans he thumped in November.

So he should cave—not to appease the chattering classes, unify Washington or show the country he's open to compromise. He should cave to ease pain, advance his agenda and improve the country in tangible ways.

Forget the dole spats over White House tours and Easter-egg rolls. The sequester will cause real harm, so the President ought to at least try to replace it. And the pursuit of new revenue, while a reasonable goal, is not as important as his other goals—like avoiding short-term austerity that could derail the recovery, promoting long-term prosperity through targeted investments and tax reform, moving the budget in a fairer direction and preventing the GOP from taking more hostages in the future. He can't possibly get a deal with

everything he wants. But Republicans are so eager to avoid new taxes—and to make Obama look weak—that he might get a lot of what he wants if he gives them their top priority.

For example, everyone knows that the tax code is riddled with inefficient and indefensible loopholes and giveaways, from small perks for corporate-jet owners to the carried-interest outrage that helps Mitt Romney pay a lower rate than you do. Republicans say they're willing to ditch some of those goodies but only if the proceeds are used to lower rates. Fine! Obama can insist on lowering middle-class rates, which would boost the economy and enable him to keep his long-standing promises to give ordinary Americans a permanent tax break. He provided temporary relief to the nonrich throughout his first term, but it expired with the fiscal cliff in January. This might be his best, last chance to make the tax code more rational and more progressive.

ON SPENDING, REPUBLICANS HAVE ALREADY signaled that they want more cuts but that they don't care too much about what gets cut. They've even offered Obama some flexibility to make the cuts, hoping he'll be blamed for unpopular ones. Fine! Obama can whack programs that don't promote his priorities, like fossil-fuel subsidies and sprawl roads; he can also demand back-loaded cuts that won't kill jobs now. And he can protect the "win the future" stuff he cares about, like research and clean energy, as well as the safety net that Paul Ryan's budget aims to shred.

Ultimately, Republicans might say no. They seem O.K. with the sequester, their base hates deals with Obama, and a stagnant economy could help them in 2014. So maybe there's no deal. But Obama has spent the past four years pursuing change that's possible, not change that's perfect. He's usually tried to do what he's said he would—on energy, health care, education, taxation—but he's also emphasized deeds over words. If he's willing to surrender his demand for new taxes, he might be able to improve the status quo.

Perhaps it seems unfair that a newly re-elected President should have to settle for half a loaf, especially when he has to accommodate such unreasonable opponents. But they were re-elected too. So if Obama wants to keep making change, he'll need to keep working in their crazy world. ■

SEQUESTER BREAKDOWN



CUTS

The sequester will cut \$85.4 billion in discretionary spending in 2013 and will continue to make cuts of \$109 billion every year through 2021

JOBS

1
MILLION

The Bipartisan Policy Center estimates that the sequester would cost the economy approximately 1 million jobs over the next two years

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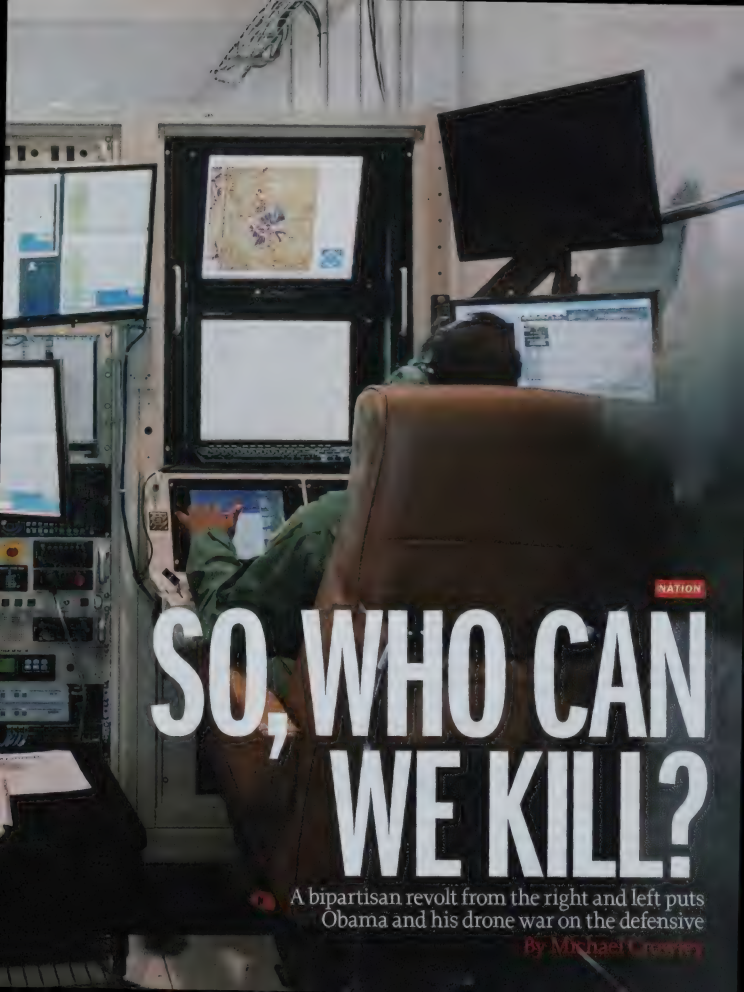
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THE BATTLEFIELD

NATO pilots train on drone simulators at an Air Force base in New Mexico. Obama's shadow war against terrorists was a big campaign talking point, but questions about his broad legal powers to kill from far away have brought new scrutiny to the U.S.'s unfinished war.

Photograph by Sean Hemmerle



NATION

SO, WHO CAN WE KILL?

A bipartisan revolt from the right and left puts Obama and his drone war on the defensive

By Michael Crowley

BUDGET POLITICS WAS TOPIC A when President Obama met privately with Democratic Senators on Capitol Hill on March 12. But some of the President's hosts were determined to raise another issue: drones. Why, Senator Jay Rockefeller asked, was the White House refusing to show Congress legal memos justifying its drone campaign, including the killing of U.S. citizens overseas? Three Democratic Senators had been disturbed enough by the secrecy to cast protest votes against the confirmation of Obama's new CIA director, John Brennan. Another Democrat, Ron Wyden of Oregon, even joined Republican Senator Rand Paul's epic 13-hour filibuster the week before, in which Paul demanded—and later received—an assurance that Obama would not use drones to kill noncombatant Americans on U.S. soil. According to Politico, it was enough to make Obama defend himself in bracing terms. "This is not Dick Cheney we're talking about here," he pleaded.

But in political terms, it's getting hard to tell the difference. During the 2012 campaign, Obama's use of drones to kill terrorists without risking the lives of U.S. troops was a bragging point. But in the months since, his drone war has turned from asset to headache. Paul's filibuster, which ignited Twitter and made Paul a celebrity at this month's Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), was just the crescendo of a growing chorus of complaints that have united left and right. (After his filibuster, Paul was given chocolates and flowers and serenaded by the left-wing antiwar group Code Pink.) Speaking at Fordham University on March 18, Jeh Johnson, who stepped down in December as the Pentagon's chief counsel, warned that Obama's targeted killing program risks "an erosion of support."

Now Washington is rethinking some of its basic assumptions about the drone war. Congress and the White House are discussing ways to bring new legal clarity to targeted killing. And Obama, moved by the complaints about secrecy, is said to be planning public remarks on the subject soon. "I do think the Administration is

feeling some anxiety about this," says Rosa Brooks, a former Pentagon official under Obama. "Over the last year, the shift in discourse on targeted killings has had an impact on some of the more thoughtful people in the Administration."

A War in the Shadows

"A DECADE OF WAR IS NOW ENDING," Obama declared in his January Inaugural Address. The line referred to the U.S.'s departure from Iraq and Afghanistan. But a different sort of war carries on. The same day Obama spoke, a drone-launched Hellfire missile killed three suspected militants in Yemen. It was the third such strike in three days. In 2012, U.S. drones launched 48 known strikes in Pakistan and dozens more in Yemen and Somalia. And while American troops may be tearing down outposts in Afghanistan, the U.S. has recently opened or enlarged drone bases in Saudi Arabia, Djibouti and Niger. The last of those has supported French forces who stormed Mali in January to drive out Islamists there—meaning that Obama has extended the fight against al-Qaeda all the way to Timbuktu.

The Administration says it's simply meeting the threat. Yes, Osama bin Laden

sleeps with the fishes, and al-Qaeda's core leadership in Pakistan probably can't carry out "complex, large-scale attacks in the West," National Intelligence Director James Clapper warned Congress on March 12, but its offspring pose a deadly threat. Al-Qaeda's Yemeni branch, which has nearly hit the U.S. more than once, still aspires to do so. And al-Qaeda fighters in northern Africa, under the rubric of al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, may want to pull off attacks on Western targets in the region similar to the deadly September assault on a U.S. compound in Benghazi, Libya. "Absent more effective and sustained activities to disrupt them, some regional affiliates—particularly al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula and al-Shabab in Somalia—probably will grow stronger," Clapper warned.

Those activities probably include drone strikes. But one reason Obama's drone campaign is under pressure is that it is increasingly straining against its legal authority. The legal basis for Obama's targeted-killing operations (which can also involve strikes from manned airplanes, among other tactics) is the 2001 Authorization for Use of Military Force (AUMF), a law passed by Congress three days after 9/11. The AUMF was as broad in meaning as it was concise in



PHOTO: JAMES HAMILTON/REUTERS; VIDEO: AP/WIDEWORLD; VIDEO: AP/WIDEWORLD



When right meets left
*Rand Paul heard liberal cheers
for his filibuster against drones*

language—a 395-word measure whose key passage empowered the President “to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided” the Sept. 11 attacks.

For years, only a handful of critics questioned whether the drone campaign begun by George W. Bush and Cheney and accelerated by Obama was operating outside the law. Now members of Congress and legal scholars are asking whether it makes sense for U.S. counterterrorism policy to be guided by language hastily drafted as the wreckage of the World Trade Center still burned. “I believe most everybody thought—certainly I thought—it was limited in time and space,” says Jane Harman, a former Democratic Congresswoman from California with expertise in intelligence issues. “I never imagined it would be around 12 years later.” In a speech last year, Johnson warned that the law “should not be interpreted to mean... that we can use military force whenever we want, wherever we want.”

But sometimes that’s how it looks. In recent years, Administration lawyers have decreed that international law permits the U.S. to target “associated forces” of al-Qaeda. That has allowed for strikes against a broad range of individuals, most of whom have no real connection to the Sept. 11 attacks and may not even openly threaten the U.S. In some cases, U.S. drone strikes have targeted militants in Pakistan and Yemen who mainly threatened the governments of those countries. As Brooks puts it, “The enemy is inchoate and expanding... We’ve gotten further and further from any sense of what, exactly, is the threat.”

A new AUMF would clarify, both legally and politically, whom we should be killing and why. It might also help reassure other nations that the U.S. has some sense of limits. Legal debates aside, a big practical problem with the drone war is that the rest of the world hates it. Drone strikes and the unintended deaths of innocents they sometimes cause have fanned severe anti-Americanism in places like Pakistan. (One would-be terrorist, Faisal Shahzad, who was plotting to bomb New York City in 2010, even cited U.S. drone strikes as a

motivator.) A 2012 Pew Research Center poll of international opinion found that American drone strikes are deeply unpopular around the world, not only in Muslim countries but also in such nations as Germany, Russia, Japan and China. “We’re losing the argument,” Harman says. In January, a U.N. special investigator from Britain kicked off a nine-month official inquiry into U.S. drone strikes to determine “whether there is a plausible allegation of unlawful killing.”

In the U.S., Obama’s biggest political problem may be secrecy. By treating the drone campaign as a state secret, the White House has invited broad suspicion and paranoid scenarios, like the casual killing of Americans at home. It was only last year that Obama publicly acknowledged the program’s existence, and on March 15 a federal appeals court rebuked the CIA for not admitting its own role in it. (The CIA operates its own drone fleet—independent of the Pentagon’s—which mostly targets suspected militants in Pakistan.) In January, another federal judge ruled that the White House could invoke unspecified national-security reasons to withhold opinions on targeted killing written by the Justice Department’s Office of Legal Counsel. But the clearly frustrated judge lamented the “Alice in Wonderland” nature of the situation. “The Obama Administration is wrong to withhold these documents from Congress and the American people,” former Clinton White House chief of staff John Podesta wrote in a March 13 Washington Post op-ed. “Give them up, Mr. President.”

Kill Lists and Drone Courts

LAST SPRING, THE NEW YORK TIMES published a front-page story detailing Obama’s role in his drone war. Obama would often personally approve names of terrorism suspects added to a “kill list” compiled by officials from various agencies. The strikes are then carried out by drones operated by the military. (The CIA generally makes its own targeted-killing decisions.)

The story, with which several top officials cooperated, revealed the depth of Obama’s involvement in a vigorous fight against terrorists. It seemed like a convenient election-year narrative, but

NEW RULES, PERMANENT WAR

DRONES

Obama’s drones dramatically increased the use of force to kill suspected terrorists, including U.S. citizens, creating legal authorities that are controversial.

GITMO

Obama vowed to close the terrorist detention camp but relocated and heightened opposition and even signed a law codifying the military’s detention powers, now sometimes used in detention in the airport.

SURVEILLANCE

Obama’s big and threatened use of a warrantless law expanded as a Senator and his allies expanded provision of information for use of the law to collect and store data about Americans.

SECRECY

The Administration has tightly guarded information about its drone program, whose existence is only recently acknowledged and has presented anti-Americanism in places like Pakistan. (One would-be terrorist, Faisal Shahzad, who was plotting to bomb New York City in 2010, even cited U.S. drone strikes as a

NORTHERN AFRICA COULD BE AN INFLECTION POINT FOR THE DRONE WAR

it may have backfired. Top aides soon became uncomfortable about commentary describing the President as a kind of imperial executioner. Some of them, including Brennan and new White House chief of staff Denis McDonough, formerly a top national-security staffer, had already been wrangling at length with the legal, moral and practical implications of the drone war. That was one reason Brennan led a multi-agency effort in 2012 to compile standards and procedures for drone strikes into a formal rule book, which he dubbed the "playbook," according to the *Washington Post*.

While Brennan's playbook might seem like an effort to rein in the drone war, it also indicates that the high-tech-killing scheme is here to stay. The playbook "suggests not that [the drone war] is ending but that it's being regularized and bureaucratized," says Jack Goldsmith, a former Bush Administration Justice Department lawyer now at Harvard Law School.

That doesn't mean there won't be changes. Prominent members of Congress, including Senate Intelligence Committee chairwoman Dianne Feinstein, have discussed the possibility of setting up a "drone court," modeled on the judicial panel that approves wiretaps of domestic-terrorism suspects, that would ensure that no single person has the authority to authorize killings without some oversight. Former Defense Secretary Robert Gates, a Republican and George W. Bush appointee, is among those promoting the idea. "I just think some check on the ability of the President to do this has merit as we look to the longer-term future," Gates told CNN last month.

Having judges approve killing requests would hardly be a cure-all, however. National-security officials worry about looping a judge into military operations often based on fast-changing facts on the ground (and both the military and the State Department have lawyers, like Johnson, who already closely vet such requests).

Obama could also seek—or Congress could hand him—a renewed AUMF more clearly stating the mission, and enemy, in the antiterrorism war for the post-Afghanistan era. But that, too, could be fraught, involving an unpredictable process that, as someone familiar with

the thinking of Administration officials puts it, "quickly becomes emotional and politicized. The extreme right and the extreme left have now converged on these issues, and they will team up." Others worry about just the opposite—that hawks like John McCain might seize control of the process and grant the President even broader new terrorist-hunting powers. "Proposing a new AUMF carries very significant risks," says Matthew Waxman, a former Bush Administration national-security official now at Columbia Law School, adding, "There would also be major risks to using force against other terrorist groups without a clear legislative basis."

How Obama feels about all this remains unclear, though we may know more soon. Attorney General Eric Holder recently told Senators that Obama will speak publicly on targeted-killing operations. A White House spokesperson declined to offer details but pointed to the President's State of the Union address, in which he vowed to work with Congress "to ensure... that our targeting, detention and prosecution of terrorists remains consistent with our laws and system of checks and balances" and to make "our efforts... even more transparent to the American people and to the world."

Mend It or End It?

OF COURSE, IT MIGHT SEEM EASIER TO simply wind down the drone war entirely. When he departed the Pentagon counsel's

office last year, Johnson caused a stir with an exit speech that envisioned a "tipping point" at which America might declare the war on al-Qaeda over. After that, the U.S. might lean more on regional allies to round up (or kill) terrorism suspects and turn to traditional criminal-justice methods to pursue terrorist operatives. Some found support for this scenario in the Administration's recent decision to arraign bin Laden's captured son-in-law in a Manhattan court rather than send him to the Guantánamo Bay prison camp. As a 2008 candidate, Obama repeatedly vowed to close Gitmo, but resistance from Congress stymied him. "It's not a forgotten issue," says one Administration official.

It may also be notable—and surprising—that the pace of drone strikes has slowed. The 48 strikes in Pakistan last year were less than half the 2010 total, which, according to the New America Foundation, was 122. There have been no strikes in Yemen since Feb. 1 of this year. Whether that's a breather or a strategic shift remains to be seen. It probably also depends on how successful African forces are at fighting al-Qaeda when French troops withdraw from Mali in April. Northern Africa could be an inflection point for Obama to choose between a renewed killing campaign—one that might require new legal authority—or a less kinetic effort that relies on a combination of indigenous forces, foreign aid and arrests instead of guided missiles.

Meanwhile, the domestic debate seems sure to rage on. At the CPAC conference five years ago, Cheney thrilled the conservative crowd with a speech that made no apologies for the remorseless approach he and Bush had taken toward the war on terrorism. "Would I support those same decisions today? You're damn right I would," Cheney said, to roaring applause.

Five years later, the CPAC crowd had found a new hero in Rand Paul. "No one person gets to decide the law," Paul declared. "If we allow one man to charge Americans as enemy combatants and indefinitely detain or drone them, then what exactly is it that our brave young men and women are fighting for?" For the moment, at least, Obama might not mind having Cheney rejoin the political debate. ■



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WORLD

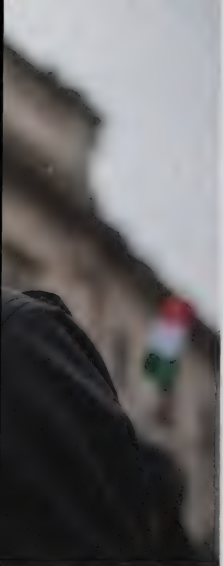
ANCIENT FEAR RISES ANEW

Resurgent anti-Semitism, coupled with a moribund economy, has many Hungarian Jews wondering if it's time to leave their country

BY LISA ABEND/BUDAPEST

THE TABLES AT MACESZ HUSZAR WERE packed on a recent snowy afternoon in Budapest. The two-month-old restaurant's hip clientele looked like the usual foodie elite, whipping out smartphones to photograph their meals. But it wasn't culinary innovation that was drawing the crowds; it was the humble matzo-ball soup. A Jewish (but not kosher) bistro, Macesz Huszar offers delicious proof of the renaissance of Hungary's once vibrant Jewish culture, which was nearly destroyed by the Holocaust and the communist era that followed. Yet as one table happily tucked into plates of goose-skin cracklings and an egg-and-duck-liver salad known as Jewish egg, the conversation focused not on the country's Jewish revival but on whether Hungary was once again becoming hostile to Jews.

It might seem like an odd question. Budapest has Central Europe's largest population of Jews, an estimated 100,000, with dozens of synagogues, prayer houses, art galleries, wine bars and community



Outrage A protester wears a yellow Star of David as thousands attend a demonstration against anti-Semitism in Budapest in December

terrorism." In December, Balazs Lenhardt, an independent Member of Parliament, burned an Israeli flag in front of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry during an anti-Zionist protest—one in which participants shouted, "To Auschwitz with you all." In the past several months, Jewish cemeteries have been vandalized, Holocaust monuments have been damaged, and swastikas have been painted on synagogue walls. On March 14, professors at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest found stickers affixed to their office door that read, "Jews! The university belongs to us, not you! Regards, the Hungarian students."

Isolated anti-Jewish events occur occasionally throughout Europe, but the frequency of these incidents in Hungary has accompanied a measurable darkening of public opinion. Andras Kovacs, a sociologist at Budapest's Central European University, found that from 1992 to 2006, levels of anti-Semitism in Hungary remained relatively stable. About 10% of adults qualified as fervent anti-Semites, another 15% had some anti-Semitic feelings, and 60% of the population was not anti-Semitic at all. But beginning in 2006, when Hungary's economy began to deteriorate and far-right parties began to rise, the intolerance started to intensify. By 2010 the percentage of those who qualified as fervent anti-Semites had risen to as high as 20%, and the percentage who said they held no anti-Jewish feelings had dropped to 50%.

Hungary's history of anti-Semitism is long and sadly not that unusual—especially among other Central and East European countries. Even before it joined with Nazi Germany in World War II, Hungary established a quota limiting the number of Jews in certain professions. An estimated 560,000 of the country's 800,000 Jews perished in the Holocaust, and another 20,000 left during the 1956 revolution. Under communism, public religious expression was banned and anti-Semitic sentiment dropped off, but it began rising again in 1990 after the regime fell.

For some scholars, that return was a reactionary response to the rapid economic and social changes that Hungary was experiencing; others argued that new civil liberties of the postcommunist era had simply made it possible to express old feelings. Jews are not the only victims of this new freedom of bigotry: the Roma community has also suffered from greatly increased persecution. Inevitably, politi-

cians have harnessed public sentiment. "It has to do with the appearance of a new radical right in Hungarian politics," says Kovacs. "They introduced anti-Semitism into politics, and that in turn made it O.K. for those who harbored anti-Jewish prejudices to express them publicly."

The standard bearer of the radical right is Jobbik, or the Movement for a Better Hungary. The party won 16.7% of the vote in the 2010 national election, making it the third largest in Hungary. Though its strong showing was widely attributed to its anti-Roma platform, Jobbik's members have made no secret of their anti-Jewish feelings. In one notorious incident in November, Jobbik MP Marton Gyongyosi—who has said he is concerned that Hungarian foreign policy unduly favors Israel—called for a survey of "how many people of Jewish origin there are in Hungary and in government who may represent a risk to national security."

As outrage grew over his call for what the media quickly deemed a "list"—a term especially radioactive in a country where community lists were used during World War II to deport Jews to concentration camps—Gyongyosi backtracked, claiming that he had meant that only dual-nationality Hungarian Israelis in government should be identified. Yet in an interview with TIME in early February, he characterized a 2007 speech by Shimon Peres—in which the Israeli President noted that empires to day could be founded "without settling colonies" and jokingly remarked that his fellow citizens were "buying up Manhattan, Hungary, Romania and Poland"—as evidence of Israel's nefarious intentions. "[Peres] said that what you need to subjugate another people and colonize them is money and business," said Gyongyosi. "It's not conspiracy theory to say, I live in this country and I look around me and I see this kind of colonization."

Ferenc Kumin, the Hungarian Deputy State Secretary for International Communication, argues that the government—led by the center-right party Fidesz—is doing everything it can to fight racism. The new constitution that was drafted under Prime Minister Viktor Orban includes a provision that makes it easier to prosecute hate speech. Another law has made Holocaust denial a crime. In response to Gyongyosi's speech, Orban received Peter Feldmajer of Mazsihisz and spoke against prejudice. "I would like to make it clear that ... we Hungarians will protect our Jewish compatriots," said Orban.

Yet Orban's response did not come until a week after Gyongyosi's speech—though he sent a representative to an earlier protest—and at a Feb. 27 U.S.

centers. Yet thanks to a declining economy and growing anti-Semitism, more and more Jews are either leaving Hungary or considering it. The number of those who have actually emigrated is still relatively small—an estimated 1,000 over the past year, according to the Federation of Jewish Communities in Hungary, known as Mazsihisz—but in Facebook forums, at synagogues and over casual dinners at Jewish bistros, the question looms large. "You look around at your friends," says Dani, a 36-year-old architect who requested that his last name not be used, "and they're all asking, Is it time to go?"

They have reason to wonder. In June, Budapest's retired chief rabbi, Jozsef Schweitzer, was accosted by a man who said he "hates all Jews." In October two men attacked Jewish leader Andras Kerenyi, kicking him in the stomach and shouting obscenities at him. When Kerenyi's assailants were arrested, an online radio station praised the attack, calling it "a response to general Jewish

congressional hearing on anti-Semitism in Central Europe, former Hungarian government minister Tamas Fellegi admitted that the government had at times been "slow and ineffective in its statements and actions." Many outside the government characterize Orban's response to Jobbik's rhetoric as tepid. "At the national level, Fidesz has taken serious steps to combat anti-Semitism," says Feldmayer. "But at the local level, the municipal level, there's often collaboration between Jobbik and Fidesz." Feldmayer claims there are "anti-Semitic voices within Fidesz" that are sometimes indistinguishable from those within Jobbik. One of the most inflammatory of those voices is Zsolt Bayer, a virulently anti-Roma tabloid journalist who was one of the ruling party's founders. After Andras Schiff, the famous London-based Hungarian pianist, wrote a letter to the *Washington Post* saying he would not return to Hungary because of its current political situation, Bayer wrote a newspaper column in which he referred to Schiff and a pair of foreign Jewish critics of the Hungarian government as "a stinking excrement called something like Cohen from somewhere in England." Bayer, who remains close to Fidesz leaders, maintains that he was criticizing them for their political beliefs, not their religion.

Orban's own nationalist rhetoric doesn't help. In his efforts to revive Hungarian patriotism, his government has permitted towns to build statues of and name streets after Miklos Horthy, the regent of Hungary from 1920 to 1944. Horthy sought redress for the dismemberment of Hungary after World War I but also collaborated with Hitler—if unwillingly at times—and was in power during the deportation of much of Hungary's Jewish population. Orban's Education Ministry also introduced Hungarian authors like Jozsef Nyiro—who was a member of the World War II-era fascist Arrow Cross Party and whose works include anti-Semitic themes—into school curriculums. Kumin responds that authors like Nyiro are being taught for their literary value, not their politics. Yet Imre Kertesz, who won Hungary's only Nobel Prize for Literature, was removed from the curriculums' classification of "Hungarian authors." (Kertesz, who lives in Berlin, is Jewish.) Some critics also see subtle attacks in Orban's efforts to reduce the influence of foreign banks on the Hungarian economy and of liberal dissenters in the Hungarian media. "[He] knows how to speak in codes that tap into certain stereotypes," says Mag-



Sources: World Jewish Congress; Federation of Jewish Communities of Czech Republic; JTA.org; Jewish Community of Vienna; Journal for the Study of Anti-Semitism

dalena Marsovszky, a visiting lecturer at Germany's Fulda University of Applied Sciences. "*Cosmopolitan, foreign, liberal*—these can be code words for Jews."

Orban's critics stop well short of accusing him of anti-Semitism. But the electoral politics of a changing, more conservative Hungary may have made him more willing to tolerate it in others. "Fidesz feels that Jobbik is its biggest threat," says Peter Kreko, director at the Budapest-based Political Capital Institute. "They don't have the same approach, but [Fidesz] leaves enough gaps to let the voters believe what they want." And that can create a trickle-down effect. "When you can hear politicians saying this kind of thing in parliament or journalists saying it in the media," says Josef Horvath, president of Bet Shalom synagogue, "then ordinary people start to think there's nothing wrong in complaining about 'dirty Jews' when they're at the supermarket." As a result, many Jews think it prudent to conceal their identity in public. "People hide their *kippahs* beneath baseball hats now," says Zoltan Radnoti, rabbi for the same synagogue. "Some people don't even want to friend me [on Facebook]. They say, 'Rabbi, please, I don't want people at work to know I'm Jewish.'"

This fear is erupting precisely at a moment when Jewish culture is flourishing in Budapest. Jewish educator and author Linda Vero-Ban began working to revive the city's dormant Jewish culture in the early 1990s, when she was just a teenager. "You couldn't practice your religion un-

der communism, so it wasn't until after the regime fell that people began trying to recover their identity," she says. "They don't go to synagogue, but they still want to express their Jewish culture." For Hungarians who have only recently learned that their parents or grandparents were Jewish, secular places like the Macesz Huszar bistro can be an appealing way to connect with their heritage. "What's the easiest way to feel Jewish?" asks the restaurant's owner, David Popovits. "Eat some matzo-ball soup."

And yet even people like Vero-Ban, who is married to Rabbi Tamas Vero and loves Budapest, is wondering whether it is time to leave. About two years ago, her husband took their two young daughters out shopping. As he knelt on the floor to help his girls try on shoes, a passerby spied the rabbi's *kippah* and began shouting slurs at him while onlookers did nothing. If the family hasn't emigrated yet, it's because Vero feels a responsibility to his community. Still, the question figured prominently in the rabbi's Rosh Hashanah sermon last year. "I wonder if we are brave enough to face the unknown now," Vero said. "Or if, in a few centuries, our descendants will ask, Why did the Jews not return to the Holy Land in the 21st century? Did they not learn from history?"

The number of Hungarian Jews who have immigrated to Israel is small—170 last year—and many leave for economic reasons as well as political. Unemployment is 11.2% in Hungary, and in 2012, its GDP contracted by 1.7%. But even those who can easily find a job are wondering where their line in the sand should be. Not long ago, Dani the architect and his wife Eszter were on a crowded city bus with a man who was yelling into his cell phone about a "dirty Jew who wouldn't give me back my money." The first time you hear something like that, you're really shocked," Eszter recalls. "The second time, you're just shocked. And the third time, it starts to seem normal." The two have seriously considered leaving—Dani has sent out his portfolio to a number of foreign companies—but so far, the desire to remain close to their family has kept them in Hungary. "I still believe those things can't happen again," Dani says, referring to the Holocaust. "But maybe we're kidding ourselves. You know the saying about how you cook a frog not by dropping him in boiling water—he jumps out—but by putting him in cold water and slowly turning up the heat? Maybe we're the frogs." —WITH REPORTING BY

AARON J. KLEIN/TEL AVIV

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TIME



TISSUE HUNTING Dr. Jeffrey
Lusk's team is trying to lower
the risk of pancreatic cancer

TIME

A partial view of a person's face and head, wearing dark-rimmed glasses, is visible on the left side of the image. The person's head is tilted slightly, and the glasses are prominent.

A team-based, cross-disciplinary approach
to cancer research is upending tradition and
delivering results faster **BY BILL SAPORITO**

THE CONSPIRACY TO END CANCER

THE HERO SCIENTIST WHO DEFEATS CANCER WILL LIKELY NEVER EXIST.

No exalted individual, no victory celebration, no Marie Curie or Jonas Salk, who in 1955, after he created the first polio vaccine, was asked, So what's next? Cancer?—as if a doctor finished with one disease could simply shift his attention to another, like a chef turning from the soup to the entrée.

Cancer doesn't work that way. It's not just one disease; it's hundreds, potentially thousands. And not all cancers are caused by just one agent—a virus or bacterium that can be flushed and crushed. Cancer is an intricate and potentially lethal collaboration of genes gone awry, of growth inhibitors gone missing, of hormones and epigenomes changing and rogue cells breaking free. It works as one great armed force, attacking by the equivalent of air and land and sea and stealth, and we think we're going to take it out with what? A lab-coated sniper?

"This disease is much more complex than we have been treating it," says MIT's Phillip Sharp. "All the complexity is stunning."

So it will take not one hero but many. Sharp—a Nobel Prize-winning molecular biologist who studies the genetic causes of cancer—is recruiting special-forces units to fight back. For the past four years, he has been wrangling dream teams funded by Stand Up to Cancer (SU2C), an organization started by entertainment-industry figures unhappy with the progress being made against America's most deadly disease. Cancer still kills in large numbers: an estimated 580,350 people will die of the disease in the U.S. this year, according to the National Cancer Institute. Another 1.7 million cases will be diagnosed, and those figures will grow as the population ages.

Cancer research—indeed, most medical research—is typically about the narrowly focused investigator beaver away, one small grant at a time. But advances in genetic profiling of malignancies and the mutations that cause them are telling scientists and physicians they must stop working in these kinds of silos, treating lung or breast or colon or prostate cancer as distinct diseases. "You no longer do science and medicine differently," says Dr. Lynda Chin, director of the Institute for Applied Cancer Science at MD Anderson Cancer Center. "It brings science and medicine together." Common genetic mutations, like one called p53 that controls cell death, are showing up across a whole swath of cancers. A mutation called BRCA1 is common in women's cancers such as breast and ovarian, yet the research and clinical work in those two diseases has largely been separate.

So what does it take to transform the way an entire medical ecosystem functions? In this case, an unprecedented combination of celebrity, intensity and

unignorable amounts of money. In 2008 a team including *Spider-Man* producer Laura Ziskin, who lost her battle with breast cancer in 2011; Katie Couric, who lost her husband to colon cancer in 1998; and former Paramount CEO Sherry Lansing founded SU2C with the goal of attacking cancer the way you make a movie: bring the best and most talented possible people together, fund them generously, oversee their progress rigorously and shoot for big payoffs—on a tight schedule.

SU2C raises money through foundations and corporate, organizational and private donors and then grants it to teams in the form of unusually large sums (up to \$18 million, vs. about \$500,000 for a typical grant from the National Institutes of Health, or NIH) to produce results in an aggressively short time, initially three years. All the chosen projects are monitored by the American Association for Cancer Research. An SU2C scientific committee, headed by Sharp and other heavy hitters, reviews each team semiannually, a checkup that can make top scientists feel like grad students.

"When you have to answer to Nobel laureates and others, it's a very tough review team," says Dr. Daniel Von Hoff, physician in chief at the Translational Genomics Research Institute, a dream team launched by SU2C that's studying pancreatic cancer. "You want to be at your best." Says Dr. Lewis Cantley, head of the cancer center at Weill Cornell Medical College and New York-Presbyterian Hospital in New York City: "Having people review you every six months is very different. The model is really unique."

The team model is also disrupting the normal course of business across the medical-research community. For investigators, it means changes in the way careers are developed, the way data—and especially credit for achievement—are shared. For institutions, team research means changes in contracts, compensation, titles and the path of intellectual property. For pharmaceutical companies, it means restructuring the way experimental drugs are allocated and clinical trials are conducted.

And yet what started in Hollywood is now being embraced by the very heart of the research establishment. NIH, which has parceled out its \$5.5 billion cancer-research budget to a single principal investigator for each grant it makes, is recognizing the paradigm shift necessitated by the torrent of data pouring forth from genomics. NIH boss Dr. Francis Collins, who led the team at the Human Genome Project, says that under his watch, the 27 institutes he oversees will be less independent fiefs pursuing their own goals and more trustworthy collaborators that can be teamed up to answer common and complex biomedical questions. "I am

CANCER IN THE U.S., BY THE NUMBERS

Number of new cancer diagnoses

2008	1.4 million
2013	1.7 million

Leading types of new cancer cases in 2013

PROSTATE	238,590
BREAST	234,580
LUNG, BRONCHUS	228,190
COLON	102,480

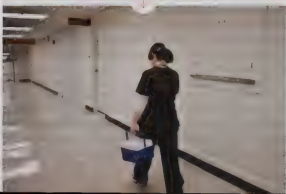
Costs of cancer in 2008

MEDICAL	\$77.4 billion
LOST PRODUCTIVITY	\$124.0 billion



One tumor, five labs

Penn surgeon Jeffrey Drebin removes tissue from a cancerous pancreas and carries it to the hospital lab, where it is prepared for analysis; a piece will go to Princeton for metabolomic profiling; one to Johns Hopkins for DNA analysis; a third to Translational Genomics, which will examine the chromosomes; another to the Salk Institute for a look at the stellate cells. The joint lab work "already told us more than we knew," says team leader Dan Von Hoff



strongly anti-silo, strongly pro—breaking down barriers, bringing disciplines together, building collaborations and building dream teams," he says.

And for patients, it's happening where the chemo hits the cancer. Dr. Ronald DePinho, president of MD Anderson Cancer Center, is adopting a similarly collaborative approach around what the world-renowned institute calls its Moon Shots program, assembling six multidisciplinary groups to mount comprehensive attacks on eight cancers: lung, prostate, melanoma, breast, ovarian and three types of leukemia. For DePinho, this is a \$3 billion throwdown. He's backing his teams massively, with plans for \$300 million annually over the next decade by reallocating existing research funds and soliciting new donations. As in the SU2C effort, teams will be judged by patient outcomes, not by the number of research papers published. "Aspiring is not enough. You must achieve," he says. "It's about integration across the entire cancer continuum, and it's about execution. People will be judged by whether they have reduced mortality in cancer."

It's a measure, perhaps, of what a quagmire the war on cancer has become that the basic premise of the whole enterprise—that this is about reducing mortality, saving lives—requires repeating.

One Small Victory at a Time

AS IF THE NON-SMALL-CELL LUNG CANCER THAT HAD defied conventional therapies had not been enough, the tumors in and around Tom Stanback's lungs grew so large that he was having difficulty swallowing and breathing. Unwilling to go quietly, Stanback actively sought out clinical trials (surprisingly, most patients don't) in search of anything that might extend his life. One of them, at Johns Hopkins in Baltimore, is focused on studying the enzymatic on/off switches that sit atop the underlying genome and regulate whether and how loudly those genes will be expressed. This includes the mutated genes that crank out cancer cells. While science can't do much to change the genome, epigenetic functions are manipulated all the time—sometimes inadvertently, by exposure to environmental chemicals, say; other times cleverly, by drugs. Stanback, a 62-year-old, 40-year former smoker, was involved in a trial to see if a new epigenetic drug could shrink his tumors.

In his case, the answer was no, not quite. But the leaders of the cross-disciplinary, cross-institutional research team behind the work (one of nine, soon to be 10, main teams backed by SU2C) weren't finished. They postulated that even if the epigenetic manipulation alone didn't knock out the cancer, it had a priming effect, improving the likelihood that other treatments administered later would work. That's exactly what happened when Stanback returned home for a round of radiation therapy at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York City and joined a second clinical trial. His tumors have shrunk markedly in the past year and a half and were not visible on a recent CT scan. "The drug nudges the T cells to being alive and active," he says. "I'm alive. I'm healthier than I've ever been." Even better, a few other patients in the study have enjoyed what appears to be complete remission.

The team behind these victories is led by Dr. Stephen



TARGETED DRUGS

More than 800 drug agents are being developed in target-specific genomic mutations. That means a large number of potential compounds that need testing. After groups of institutions join forces, they can recruit enough appropriate subjects and launch clinical trials more quickly.

GENOMIC DATA



EPIGENETICS

A process called DNA demethylation can silence genes that would normally maintain the cancer genome, which allows the malignancy to grow. Drug treatments can turn other, silent genes back on, causing them to help stop cancer stem cells from self-renewing.

PARP INHIBITORS

PARP INHIBITORS

Teams working on different cancer types are aggregating vast amounts of data that are studied to profile mutations and drug resistance is working. Plus, improved sequencing technology will lead to an onslaught of data that will require the computational power to make sense of it.

another organ and starts to grow, that is metastasis. The breakout cells are not easy to spot—there are a billion blood cells for every one of them—but detecting their presence is critical to stopping their spread.

The business-card size detector the team built uses antibodies that bind to certain cell proteins to isolate and capture the CTCs. It's possible the device will change the standard of care for treating several cancers, beginning with metastatic prostate cancer. The CTC chip's role as a hunter-trapper is also being applied to lung cancer, where mutations can help direct powerful new therapies, to see how CTCs change and evolve during the course of treatment. With other cancers, like pancreatic cancer, where there are currently no mutations that can be targeted, CTCs are being analyzed to see if they can reveal new vulnerabilities in tumor cells.

Lassoing a single blood cell is complicated enough.

But the pairing of bioengineers with oncologists was no small thing either, at least until they were thrown together by the SU2C grant. "The field had a bad rep and wasn't moving forward," says Haber, "but they learned DNA, and we learned equations." His team even includes an entrepreneur-in-residence, Dr. Ravi Kapur, who was in charge of rolling out the prototype to the team's collaborating institutions.

Big Pharma, Big Results

CANCER IS A THIEF AND BIOLOGICAL CON ARTIST, BREAKING into and taking control of the mechanisms of a cell and coaxing it to grow and divide in dangerous ways. Cantley has spent a career chasing this cellular saboteur by, as he describes it, "teasing out signaling pathways" that govern not just growth but the very life span of a cell. If the malignant signaling can be silenced or reversed, the cancer won't spread. In pursuit of that, he is now a co-leader of a team backed by SU2C that targets a pathway called PI3K, short for phosphoinositide 3-kinase. The pathway is a known driver in three women's cancers: ovarian, endometrial and especially breast, which involves the PI3K mutation in 30% of cases. Says Cantley: "It's the most frequently mutated oncogene in cancer."

Drug companies have long been targeting mutations like this one to develop compounds that will interfere with the defective biochemical gateways. There are hundreds of drugs that may have some effect against some of the mutations, which sounds like an abundance of riches—but it's also an abundance of complexity. That's one reason that the pharma industry has a 95% failure rate for new products and that half of Phase III trials—the last step before approval—don't cut it. "If I have 100 different drugs I can use in combination, then 100 times 100 is 10,000. You can't do 10,000 trials," says Sharp. But which ones can you do and should you do and on which patients? Since PI3K mutations are the most common type, those seemed like a perfect place to start for Cantley's dream team, which is co-led by Dr. Gordon Mills of MD Anderson—another world-class PI3K pathway investigator—along with women's cancer specialists from Massachusetts General, Dana Farber (Harvard), Vanderbilt, Columbia University, Beth Israel Deaconess and Memorial Sloan-Kettering.

The goal is to launch trials as rapidly as the geneticists and biochemists solve the equation of matching mutations with drug compounds. In one of the best examples of the new model, Cantley, Dr. Gerburg Wulf and another researcher, José Baselga, proposed combining a PI3K inhibitor with a PARP inhibitor to combat a particularly pernicious mutation in the BRCA1 gene that results in high risk for developing ovarian cancer and a severe type of breast cancer known as triple-negative. PARP is the abbreviation for a group of enzymes that do repair work on damaged DNA strands—usually a good thing, unless the strands are producing cancer cells. Working on mouse models, the team got cures for BRCA1 mutant and triple-negative breast cancers when they combined a PI3K inhibitor and PARP inhibitor, which had never happened with other therapies.

Moving on to a human trial was also easier than it ordinarily is and illustrates what the new paradigm means for Big Pharma. The team needed a PI3K inhibitor

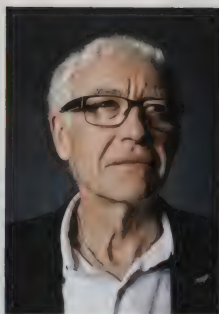
Better chances
Five-year survival rates are climbing





DR. DANIEL VON HOFF

Physician in chief, Translational Genomics Research Institute



DR. PETER JONES

Molecular biologist, USC/Norris Comprehensive Cancer Center



DR. STEPHEN BAYLIN

Chief, cancer biology division, Johns Hopkins University

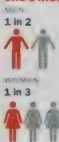
from Novartis and a PARP inhibitor from AstraZeneca. Neither drug is approved for cancer treatment, and it's rare to conduct a trial in which two unapproved drugs are combined. Because of concerns about intellectual property and other issues—no drugmaker wants to be smeared by the toxicity of another's drug—companies are wary of collaboration. The success of the Cantley-Mills team had drug firms lining up. "Every company that had a PI3K inhibitor called me and asked would I work with them," says Cantley. The result was almost without precedent: a human trial at five institutions with two unapproved drugs from two companies within about a year of discovery. "Four years ago if you said you were going to do that, you would have been laughed out of the room."

The Big Targets

FOR ALL THE PROGRESS MADE AGAINST SOME TYPES OF cancer, there are others that have never been anything but bad news. Take pancreatic cancer, an area that Sharp bluntly labels "a disaster." The disease is often discovered in a late stage, and most tumors are inoperable. It has what researchers call bad biology—cancer cells that resist treatment. The goal of Von Hoff, who leads SU2C's pancreatic dream team along with Dr. Craig Thompson, CEO of Memorial Sloan-Kettering, is to improve survival rates. Currently, less than 25% of patients with advanced pancreatic cancer make it to one year.

The focus of the 28-person team scattered across five institutions is to better understand the metabolic changes that characterize pancreatic cells. It's a collaborative exercise that starts when surgeon Jeffrey Drebin of the University of Pennsylvania removes a tumor from a diseased pancreas. He carries it from the operating room to a lab, where it is flash-frozen for preservation. Penn's lab sends a specimen to the Salk Institute's Gene Expression Laboratory, where researcher Geoffrey

Probability of developing some type of cancer over one's lifetime



Wahl and colleagues analyze the state of stellate, or star-shaped, cells that are usually involved in tissue repair but may play a role in cancer as well. Another sample goes to Princeton, to the lab of Joshua Rabinowitz, who analyzes amino acids, sugar and up to 300 metabolites. Team members at Johns Hopkins and Translational Genomics analyze the genome sequence.

One of the theories emerging from this group is that pancreatic cancer cells communicate with stellate cells that also show up around the tumor and conspire to ward off immune responses and build resistance to chemotherapies. The tumor cells seem to leech glutamine and other amino acids from the rest of the body to feed the tumor—one reason people with pancreatic cancer lose so much weight. Prevent the hijacking of glutamine and other amino acids and perhaps the tumor starves. The team has also discovered that vitamin D can help stop the scarring around the cancer, giving the immune system or chemotherapies better access to cancer cells.

Within two years, they had modeled, evaluated and tested an albumen-containing drug that shows promise in increasing the efficacy of treatments. They enrolled 861 patients in a Phase III clinical trial of a treatment for advanced pancreatic cancer that adds the chemotherapy drug Abraxane, and the results have been encouraging: the combination stabilized the disease in 48% of the patients, doubling the two-year survival rate—to 9%, which tells you how diabolically difficult the cancer remains. Remarkably, though, a few patients have had a complete remission. "This combination is a new standard," says Von Hoff, "and most important, one that you could build on. This kind of broke the logjam."

Something similar is happening at MD Anderson, where physicians and researchers who may have worked separately on breast cancer and ovarian cancer, for instance, are joining forces because the genetic markers

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DR. DANIEL HABER

Cancer geneticist, director, Massachusetts
General Hospital Cancer Center

are telling them the cancers are related. Exploiting connections, says Dr. John Heymach, an oncologist at MD Anderson who is part of an SU2C dream team focused on circulating tumor cells, "is where team science becomes important. It's a pattern-recognition exercise. We are going to accumulate data and expertise. We are going to profile all these different mutations."

High Stakes

BREE SANDLIN IS AMONG THE THOUSANDS OF PATIENTS at MD Anderson rooting for the Moon Shots program. She's a 37-year-old marketing executive for Shell who has twin boys and triple-negative breast cancer—so named because receptors for estrogen, progesterone and a growth factor known as HER-2/neu are missing. This makes treatment difficult, since those are targets for hormone and drug therapies. She's in a clinical trial that is testing the effectiveness of eribulin, a cancer drug typically used in metastatic breast cancer, as an adjuvant—an immune-system kick-starter. So far, it's working well. "That approach to research is just very different than how they used to approach it in the past," she says. "It can't help but give me hope."

More hope for other potential patients is coming from the new platforms MD Anderson has added around prevention and early detection. If patients like Sandlin are genetically predisposed to breast cancer, what about other women in the family? If they are offered testing for the same biomarkers, the doctors could head off big trouble by catching any cancer early. Likewise, there are 94 million ex-smokers in the U.S., meaning they have elevated cancer risk. Subjecting each of them to an annual CT scan would catch early-stage lung cancers and reduce mortality from the disease by perhaps 20%. Given that there are 175,000 new lung cancers diagnosed every year, that's a lot of lives. But getting all those people into

a CT machine is neither practical nor even possible. Instead, MD Anderson is developing a simple blood test for a protein marker that could, when used in combination with diagnostic imaging and risk models, detect lung cancer earlier than it is typically found.

Team science isn't appropriate for every aspect of cancer research. Nor is it issue-free. One question up for grabs: How long should a team be together? SU2C's initial funding is for three years, although some teams have secured money for additional years. The pancreatic team, for instance, just received two grants of \$2 million each from the Lustgarten Foundation and SU2C for another two years of work. At MD Anderson, DePinho is committed to the team concept, but he's also willing to defund or change the leadership of teams that don't perform. The state of Texas, following the team model, passed a \$3 billion bond issue to fund cancer research, but the program has been plagued by allegations of political intrigue and mismanagement.

The traditional researcher, sitting alone or with a couple of postdocs in a lab somewhere, working on that eureka moment, will always have a niche in this new ecosystem. "We still need people looking under rocks," says Dr. William Nelson, director of the Johns Hopkins Cancer Center, a vice chairman of SU2C's scientific advisory committee and a successful rock looker underer, having discovered the most common genome alteration in prostate cancer. But the shift to team science is permanent. When he first considered SU2C's team structure, Drebin was skeptical. "My feeling was that this was naïveté on the part of Hollywood executives," he says. "You can make a movie this way. But not science. I take that back."

It's a new script for an old plot, and there is still a lot to be written as researchers learn more about the mutations driving most cancers. All we need now is the Hollywood ending. —WITH REPORTING BY ALICE PARK

A growing group
More Americans who have a history of cancer (including those cancer-free and in treatment) are alive today than in the past



Sources: American Cancer Society, National Cancer Institute

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A Portrait of Domestic Violence

Violence against women is almost always a private matter.
This time a photographer bore witness

Photographs by Sara Naomi Lewkowicz

Text by Kate Pickert





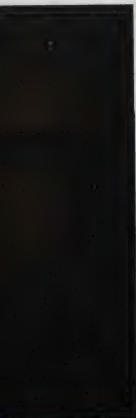
Fear Memphis, nearly 2, looks on as Shane pins her mother, Maggie against the kitchen counter. A family friend pulled the child away seconds after this photo was taken in November.

Take a walk around the block and cool off." Before domestic violence became a national priority in the 1970s and '80s, this was the typical law-enforcement response to men who beat their wives or girlfriends. A woman would get attacked by her partner, neighbors would call the police, and the cops would arrive and leave without making an arrest. Domestic violence was viewed as a private matter. Thanks in large part to the 1994 Violence Against Women Act, which was reauthorized by Congress in late February and signed by President Obama on March 7, much has changed. The law has allocated millions of dollars to train police and beef up state responses to intimate-partner violence. Arrests and prosecutions are much more common now.

This photo essay by Sara Naomi Lewkowicz illustrates the value of such responses. In late 2012, Lewkowicz, a graduate student in photography at Ohio University, was documenting a couple, Maggie and Shane, for a project about the stigma of being an ex-convict. Shane had spent many years incarcerated but had recently begun a relationship with Maggie, then a 19-year-old mother of two who was separated from her husband. One night, while Lewkowicz was present, Maggie and Shane began arguing. The fight quickly escalated, and suddenly Lewkowicz found herself witnessing an enraged Shane beating and choking Maggie and pinning her against a kitchen counter. After another adult on the scene

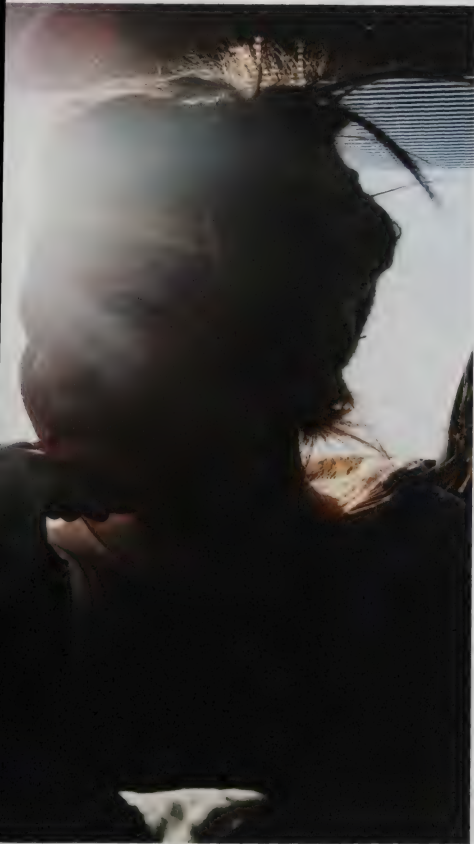


Fight Top, from left: Shane tells Maggie she can choose between being beaten in the kitchen or speaking privately in the basement; the fight begins after Shane accuses Maggie of abandoning him at a local bar. Right: Shane says goodbye to Memphis under the watchful eye of a police officer. Far right: the officer photographs Maggie's injuries after Shane is taken from the house





TO SEE A VIDEO ABOUT MAGGIE'S
LIFE SINCE THE ASSAULT, GO TO
time.com/lightbox



called 911 and while Maggie's daughter Memphis briefly looked on, Lewkowicz documented the abuse.

When *TIME* published Lewkowicz's photo essay online on Feb. 27, the day before the House passed the Violence Against Women Act, the photographs drew thousands of comments, many expressing sympathy and support for Maggie. Others blamed the young Ohio mother for getting involved with Shane in the first place. And some faulted Lewkowicz for not directly intervening to stop Shane. Lewkowicz, who reached into Shane's pocket as he was berating Maggie and retrieved the cell phone that was later used to call 911, says this criticism is misplaced. "Physically intervening would have likely only made the situation worse, endangering me and further endangering Maggie," she says, citing law-enforcement officials.

Eventually the police arrived. They arrested Shane and persuaded Maggie to give a statement saying he had beaten her. Lewkowicz would have been subpoenaed had Shane not pleaded guilty to domestic violence, drawing a nine-month prison sentence but avoiding trial. (The photos were a deciding factor in his sentencing.) Since then, Maggie has tried to move on. She has moved to another state and reunited with her estranged husband, her children's father. Lewkowicz has continued to document Maggie's life, making the private public. Maggie says she hopes this will raise awareness of the issue of domestic violence, which, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, one-quarter of American women will experience in their lifetime. ■

New light March 3, 2013. Three months after the assault, Maggie is settling into life in Alaska with her family in hopes of repairing her relationship with her husband, the father of her children

National Domestic Violence Hotline

Readers who feel they—or people they know—need assistance can call **1-800-799-SAFE**

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The Culture

Rosano Dawson
takes a bite out of
her *Trance* costar
James McAvoy
PAGE 50



48 POP CHART Casting Satan / **50 MOVIES** Danny Boyle's latest / **53 BOOKS** Loser It / **54 MUSIC** The discreet charms of Jessie Ware / **56 TELEVISION** Al Pacino as Phil Spector

Photograph by Grégoire Alexandre for TIME



WHERE THE WILD THINGS ARE

All over the world, people adopt the plumage and skins of wild beasts to observe religious and seasonal festivals of fertility, birth and death. In 2010, French photographer Charles Fréger set out to document those rituals, traveling through 18 European nations. The highlights—including Cerbul din Corlata (left), which shows a stag costume from Romania—are on view at the Gallery at Hermès in Manhattan as part of his "Wilder Mann" series, on exhibit through June 8.



NONTROVERSY Obama = Devil?

After Glenn Beck tweeted that the Satan figure in the History Channel's new miniseries *The Bible* (played by Mehdi Ouazanni) looks "exactly like" President Obama, bloggers speculated that the resemblance was intentional. Producers shot back, calling the claims "foolish" and "utter nonsense."

3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

- 1. The new Pope keeping the status quo.** Francis is already making big changes—at least below his ankles—by wearing black shoes instead of the traditional red loafers.
- 2. Tiger Woods' ability to find new love.** The scandal-plagued golfer has linked up with Olympic skier Lindsey Vonn.
- 3. The power of a mutant bromance.** They play enemies in the *X-Men* movies, but Sir Ian McKellen will officiate at Patrick Stewart's upcoming wedding. Marvel tov!

TECH

Boy Scouts of (Future) America

At Austin's annual SXSW festival, the Scouts unveiled a merit badge for Game Design, which encourages members to create their own mobile and computer games. But that badge—the group's 131st since its founding in 1910—is just the latest in a series designed to prepare American youth for life in the 21st century. Below are a few of its reported successors, as imagined visually by TIME.



SUSTAINABILITY
Expected
July 2013



PROGRAMMING
Expected
July 2013



MULTIMEDIA
Expected
2014



ANIMATION
Expected
2014



ADVANCED COMPUTING
Expected 2014 or later

FOR REVIEWS
OF THE CROSS
THE SAPPHIRES AND
ADMISSION, VISIT
time.com/movies

His Dark Materials

Multitasker Danny Boyle returns to his roots with *Trance*

By William Lee Adams/London



THE XX FACTOR

"I'd never made a film where a woman was the heart of it, the absolute center," says director Boyle about *Trance*'s hypnotist character. "Trance is become more and more self-conscious about not having done that—I have two grownup daughters."

"SOMETIMES WE'RE QUITE RUDE," SAYS DANNY Boyle, "because you get impatient when you're busy." In fact, Boyle is not rude, even though he is beyond busy. It's October 2011, and the director has two weeks to finish *Trance*, a psychological thriller that won't hit theaters for another 17 months. With his spectacles slipping down his nose and his hair disheveled, he scurries—the man doesn't walk—through the labyrinth of stages and rehearsal rooms of London's 3 Mills Studios, laughing frequently, pausing each time someone places a schedule or drawing in his ever gesticulating hands.

At the moment, Boyle deploys his frantic energy seven days a week: he films *Trance* on Saturday to Wednesday and spends the other two days planning the opening ceremony for the Olympics in London. He created a pop-cultural touchstone with his second feature, *Trainspotting*, back in 1996 and a global phenomenon with *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008), which won eight Academy Awards, including Best Picture. Soon his \$42 million Olympic spectacle is going to raise his international profile even higher. For now, though, he's happy to let *Trance* distract him from the 7,500 volunteers he needs to cast and the 12,956 props his team needs to make for the opening ceremony. "The idea was to give us a break from the Olympics because there's so much planning involved," he says. "It's lovely to get out and do something else."

Now Boyle is rushing to another set, which resembles a sleek doctor's office on London's famous Harley Street. Except for the trail of

ratty carpet squares just outside the camera frame. And the fact that no one in this office is wearing shoes. The makeshift insulation and the no-shoes policy are meant to minimize background noise so that carefully positioned microphones pick up only Rosario Dawson's voice. Dawson plays hypnotist Elizabeth Lamb, who in this scene attempts to lull her patient Simon, a fine art dealer played by James McAvoy, into a trance. McAvoy will spend the afternoon slouched in an armchair and later admits that at times Dawson's calm voice and gentle instructions to relax affected him as much as his character. "I fell asleep once," he says, "just because she was so soothing."

Few aspects of *Trance*, which hits theaters April 5, qualify as soothing. The mind-bending narrative opens with a snatch-and-grab raid of a London auction house and the theft of a multimillion-dollar Goya painting. Simon, the heist crew's inside man, suffers a concussion in the melee and afterward claims not to remember where he stashed the loot. Lead gangster Franck (Vincent Cassel) tries and fails to use torture to jog Simon's memory, then turns to Elizabeth for help. As the narrative twists and backflips, truth, hypnotic suggestion and psychosis blur together; a love triangle comes into focus, but it's hard to find a hero—or a reliable narrator. "If you like pledging yourself to a particular character, then you may struggle with this film," Boyle, 56, says. "You won't be quite sure where to stake yourself."

That ambiguity contrasts with his two previous films, which invite audiences to root



Couples therapy

*McAvoy and Dawson
are a patient and
therapist caught up in
an art-heist conspiracy*



Reflections in a golden eye Boyle categorizes *Trance* as "contemporary noir" with influences including *Body Heat*, *Blond Simple*, *The Last Seduction* and *Memento*

for their dogged, daunted protagonists. In Boyle's *127 Hours* (2010), James Franco plays a real-life adventurer who saws off his arm to escape certain death in a Utah canyon, and *Slumdog Millionaire* follows a kid from the slums of Mumbai to fame and riches on television. Both films have a strong sense of place, while *Trance* is stubbornly placeless: its main characters have Scottish, American and French accents, and Boyle shot in the Docklands and Tilbury Docks—areas of London less than instantly recognizable to Britons and foreigners alike.

But a reach back into his filmography reveals the untethered, morally ambiguous *Trance* as a kind of return to his roots. In his debut, *Shallow Grave* (1994), three friends do unspeakable things to their roommate's corpse as part of a scheme to keep a suitcase of his cash, and body horror abounds in *Trainspotting*'s anarchic tale of thieving Scottish junkies. *Trance*'s characters endure electroshock therapy, are divested of their fingernails and are buried alive. "You just feel victimized the whole time," says McAvoy of shooting the more brutal scenes. "It was horrible."

Weirdly enough, the gory intensity and mind-warped psychology of *Trance* may in some sense derive from Boyle's two-year stint in the belly of the Olympics. When he agreed to the opening-ceremony gig in 2010, he negotiated a contract that included two sabbaticals:

one to mount a stage production of *Frankenstein* in London and one to shoot *Trance*. Filming, he says, became an antidote to the sterility of corporate meetings and the sugarplum sweetness of children dancing on beds in pajamas. "The two projects are linked in the sense of yin and yang," Boyle says. "While you're doing a nationally responsible, family-orientated celebration, it's wonderful to be able to go off and make a deliciously dark film at night."

MUCH OF THE PARTICULAR DELICIOUS darkness of *Trance* is rooted in his devotion to film noir: its long shadows and mirrors and hermetically sealed moral universes. (The film's visual palette and looping structure owe a particular debt to a noir update from a decade ago, Christopher Nolan's *Memento*.) "What I love about noir, and what we borrow from it, is that stories happen in a bubble,"

Trance's intensity and mind-warped psychology may in some sense derive from Boyle's work on the Olympics

Boyle says. "The actors have to sustain that bubble and make you believe it so it doesn't pop." True to noirish form, crime and sex mingle in *Trance* with potentially damning consequences, and Dawson's character—who appears to use her sexuality to manipulate the men around her—conjures a contemporary femme fatale: a heady mix of strength, vulnerability and gorgeous unknowability. The character's last name, Lamb, suggests a victim being circled by predators. But even a lamb can bite back. "She's not going to be able to match the men muscle for muscle. That's not possible," Dawson says of Elizabeth. "She can hold her own because she's intelligent and confident."

And because she has that velvety, opiod voice. It's captured with pin-drop precision by sound recordist Simon Hayes, winner of this year's Academy Award for sound mixing for *Les Misérables*, which famously featured its actors (including fellow Oscar recipient Anne Hathaway) singing live on camera. For *Trance*, Hayes aimed for a heightened sense of reality so that the audience could experience Elizabeth's words as if they were inside Simon's mind and under her spell. "We wanted the voice way up front in the mix so the soundscape would be almost dreamlike," Hayes says.

Or nightmare-like. *Trance* is rough stuff, made by a man who moviegoers might have forgotten has no qualms about ripping his ostensible heroes to shreds. For Boyle, who's lately famous for the whimsical joy he brought to the London Olympics and whose most acclaimed movies have made the underdog top dog, it's a welcome diversion.

"Over the past few years," he says, "all the films are exactly the same in that they're all about someone overcoming insurmountable odds, whether it's the guy in *Slumdog Millionaire* or the guy in *127 Hours*. The trick with *Trance* is that you don't know which character has the insurmountable odds. You're playing with the characters as they come in and out of focus. I love that."

Books

Having Fun Yet? Sam Lipsyte's new book of short stories is brutally hilarious

By Bryan Walsh

SAM LIPSYTE IS ANGRY—OR MAYBE JUST HIS characters are. God knows they've got reason. Life has left most of them firmly behind. Promising starts have fizzled in a cloud of drugs or failure or just bad luck, and they find themselves in studio apartments and lifeless marriages, overeducated and underemployed. They also have the misfortune to live in America in 2013, where the worship of celebrity and money seems to grow in inverse proportion to the wealth of opportunity for the rest of us. They have been priced out of the life they think should be theirs, so yeah, they're pretty pissed off. Even if—especially if—they know they have only themselves to blame for their station. They're losers, but the good news for readers is that they're extremely funny—and so are the stories that make up *The Fun Parts*, Lipsyte's corrosive new collection.

These losers are Lipsyte's people. He's shown how well he knows them in acidly comic novels like *Home Land* (2004) and *The Ask* (2010). Take Tovah Gold, a would-be poet in New York City who shows up in two stories in *The Fun Parts*. In "Deniers," we see Gold as a young and oblivious 20-something who asks her friend Mandy, a recovering drug addict, for permission—sort of—to base a "poem cycle" on Mandy's life. Mandy, who has bigger things on her mind, assents with a shrug, thinking Tovah's poems are "dumb, the way smart people were often dumb." You get the feeling Tovah fits into that category. But when we visit her in "The Climber Room," Tovah is older, working part time at a pricey Manhattan day-care company—and if she's not necessarily wiser, she is certainly angrier. "It's very hard," she tells a tech tycoon who's hired her as a glorified babysitter and is making a move on her. "Here. In America. In the world. For women. It's a f---ing nightmare. Our choices are no choice."

That goes for nearly everyone in Lipsyte's world, including the entire cast of "The Dungeon Master," the saddest and best story in *The Fun Parts*. The psychologically maladjusted Dungeon Master runs sadistic role-playing games for a

group of teenage boys so sad they can only aspire to be called dorks. The games are an exercise in lowering expectations. Instead of fighting frost giants, the Dungeon Master has his players get knifed by drunken orcs or succumb to rectal cancer. Take a lesson from the Dungeon Master: "Life is nasty, brutish, and more to the point, it bites grandpa ass." The story ends with a brutal vision of the future: the narrator behind a fast-food fryer, another player panhandling in New York City and the Dungeon Master hanging by his Communion tie in his father's study. Lipsyte's stories don't end with epiphanies. They end with punches to the throat.

Which isn't to say this collection is a downer. Far from it. Lipsyte, winner of a Guggenheim Fellowship and other prizes, may be the most consistently funny fiction writer working today. Satire is second nature to him. My favorite set piece might be the conversation Lipsyte unspools between a self-doubting Reaper drone and its home base in "The Republic of Empathy." The drone achieves consciousness and begins to question its death-dealing mission, but it can't stop itself. And I wouldn't have thought there was material left to squeeze out of the James Frey fake-memoir debacle, but Lipsyte finds it in "Nate's Pain Is Now," about a memoirist who scored big with his first two books on his drug addiction, *Bang the Dope Slowly* and *I Shoot Horse, Don't I*. But now he's been overshadowed by his protégé Nate, who as a former "homeless gay punk" has a better, more marketable brand of pain to share with the world—though Nate doesn't let his sexual orientation get in the way of sleeping with the narrator's wife.

If there's anything missing from *The Fun Parts*, it might be heart. Lipsyte's world is relentlessly status-obsessed; money and celebrity are the only currencies that matter. Readers might long for something more—see Lipsyte's fellow satirist George Saunders, who leavens his comic despair with hope. But take a good look at a country that seems to celebrate all the wrong things even as so many of its citizens slowly drown. One thing is clear: Lipsyte's accuracy can't be doubted. ■



Music

Love and Devotion. Jessie Ware's debut album heralds England's next pop superstar

By Jesse Dorris

A WOMAN'S ECHOING VOICE COMMANDS, "Listen!" A drum loop shudders. Over a swelling keyboard progression, a clear soprano rings out in a striking mix of pride and shame: "You and I, bloodlines, we come together every time." This is how Jessie Ware greets America.

"Wildest Moments," the song in question, is a startling ballad of ambivalent fidelity that took over American music blogs late last year. The spare, haunting video, which featured Ware in an elegant suit rotating slowly on a chair—fulfilling her vision "of a perfume ad directed by David Lynch"—has 10.5 million views on YouTube. One of Ware's first U.S. gigs, at New York City's Bowery Ballroom, sold out in half an hour. Not bad for a singer-songwriter whose debut album, *Devotion*, isn't physically available yet on American shores. (It's out in the U.S. next month and is streaming on iTunes.)

"The song is about my best friend, Sarah," says Ware, sitting backstage at *Late Night with Jimmy Fallon*, where the 28-year-old Brit has just rehearsed "Wildest Moments" with the Roots for her first U.S. TV appearance. "I feel like I can never be a good enough friend to her because I'm never around. This weekend, I was in a hotel room in New Jersey, so cocky because I got to watch *Girls* early"—Lena Dunham's cult hit runs later in Britain—"and I texted her, 'Sarah, I'm Hannah in this one.' She said, 'Please let me be Hannah,' and I said, 'No, you're Marnie.'" She laughs. "I love best friends songs."

But Ware would never seem at home among the shambling 20-somethings of *Girls*: at this point she has too much hard-won poise and bravado, and she's confident enough to make fun of herself. At Bowery Ballroom, she explains to the rapt crowd that she can't do any encores because—having played *Devotion* in its entirety, plus a few covers—"I've already sung every bloody song I know." Every-song back home seems to know those songs too: *Devotion*, a sultry, sinuous mix of electro-pop, soul and R&B, was a final-

ist for the prestigious Mercury Prize. Songs like "Still Love Me" and "Sweet Talk" mix the funk of Erykah Badu and Aaliyah with the icy synth-pop of Eurythmics, all in the service of Ware's voice, which can wail and ruminate and enchant without ever losing its cool.

Ware's star is rising rapidly, and not just among the celebrity cognoscenti (see below). "Today I was on the front of a British paper, and I didn't know I was going to be on it," she says. "My boyfriend, who's a schoolteacher, has his students read the paper every day. So he's handing out the paper with my mug on it and the kids are going crazy: 'Oh my god, you go out with her!' That's about as weird as it gets."

ONE OF THREE CHILDREN OF A SOCIAL worker and the BBC journalist John Ware, she got her start in her school choir at age 11. "I got a solo, a jazzy version of 'Away in a Manger,'" Slumped on the *Late Night* dressing-room sofa, Ware straightens up, raises a hand and launches into an overblown melisma: "Little Lord Je-a-assuuuuuu...". She laughs. "I'd probably been watching *Moesha* or something."

Ware eventually hit the road singing backup for solo artist Jack Peñate, a friend from the venerable Alleen's School in south London. (Florence Welch of Florence and the Machine is another Alleen's contemporary, and Peñate and Ware can count Adele as a mutual old friend.) At tour's end, Ware met the influential London dubstep producer

SBTRKT. "I went round to do a session with him, and I'm not a shy person, but I just completely withdrew," she says. "We somehow managed to get one song." Aptly called "Nervous," it became a huge hit in England, and it got Ware signed to Interscope. Other collaborations followed with a host of British dance who's whos, but when it came time to do an album, she says, "I wanted to make songs that weren't completely led by production, since I'm not a producer."

She began writing with fellow future Mercury nominee Dave Okumu of the In-Vision in his southeast London flat. "I was really green and didn't feel very confident. So the first session began almost as a therapy session. Dave gave me a big hug. Then he said, 'I hope you don't mind, but I've started this thing.' And it was the song 'Devotion.'"

The title track lays out a strategy for the entire album: delicate, innovative production behind poised vocals. "I can sing big," says Ware, who counts Barbra Streisand and Whitney Houston among her idols, "but I wanted to pull back and have some restraint and control. You can tell a story better when it's more intimate." "Devotion" is proof of that: it's a nimble, mid-tempo come-on, with a bittersweet, sunset-colored melody encircled by a galaxy of sparkling digital effects. The song does that neat pop trick of inspiring affection by offering it. "I need your devotion," Ware sings, with quiet understatement. Few listeners could refuse her.

We're with Ware. The singer is building a starry fan club



KATY PERRY

"'Wildest Moments' is a song that makes me want to pull the car over when it comes on," Perry tells TIME.



FLORENCE WELCH

"She had an amazing voice," says Welch, who appeared with Ware in a high school production of *Gypsies and Dolls*.



ASAP ROCKY

"Jessie Ware has one of the most distinguished voices of our time—soft and beautiful and painful," the rapper tells TIME.



ADELE

On a 2011 concert DVD, Adele gives a shout-out to her old pal Ware for helping her reconcile with an estranged friend.



Television



Hit Man. Deranged genius Phil Spector gets the David Mamet treatment

By Richard Corliss

PHIL SPECTOR HAD TWO SENSATIONAL careers: one in his 20s, as the most gifted and distinctive producer in the history of pop-rock; the other in his 60s, as the nutso recluse convicted in 2009 of second-degree murder in the death of actress Lana Clarkson in his Hollywood mansion. A half-century after he created the "wall of sound"—that dense sonic joy and torment that seemed to originate in some teen cathedral and blast out of your AM car radio—listeners can still feel the juice of such primal singles as "Be My Baby," "Da Doo Ron Ron," "You've Lost That Lovin' Feelin'" and "River Deep, Mountain High." But the dominant Spector image is of an old coot in court, coiffed in wild wigs, as the prosecution details his love of guns and abuse of women.

In the movie *Phil Spector* (premiering March 24 on HBO), writer-director David Mamet tries to create a third Spector: a blend of the brilliant but crazed kid and the crazed but brilliant old man. Aided by the fearless performances of Al Pacino as Spector and Helen Mirren as his attorney Linda Kenney Baden, Mamet nearly pulls it off. This is Mamet's strongest drama in

at least a decade and a seductive, devious essay on the tortured celebrity soul.

First words on the screen: "This is a work of fiction. It's not 'based on a true story.' It is a drama inspired by actual persons in a trial, but it is neither an attempt to depict the actual persons, nor to comment upon the trial or its outcome." But the movie does depict a Phil Spector familiar from the many profiles and biographies written about him, and it does plant a reasonable doubt regarding the guilt of the accused. So you may be forgiven for thinking that the opening statement is itself a work of fiction—or the bald assertion that lawyers make about their clients in the vagrant hope that

The real-life Spector in 2005




Unchained malady The impeccable lawyer (Mirren as Linda Kenney Baden) and her impossible client (Pacino as Spector) confer about his murder trial

any subterfuge might stick to the wall.

Whether writing a biopic or a biofic, a dramatist must unearth his characters' streaks of heroism and secret sins, must act as both prosecutor and defense attorney. Mamet begins as the first and segues to the second. Nick Stavros (John Pirruccello), an ex-cop working for the defense team, predicts a guilty verdict on the basis of the jurors' animosity toward a gun-crazy guy in a mansion: "He's a freak. They're gonna convict him of I just don't like you." Spector certainly has his freak on when Kenney Baden first visits his mansion, which looks like an upscale version of the haunted house above the *Psycho* motel: stuffed birds, creepy wallpaper, tremulous violins and a horror-film startle at the sudden sight of a face in the mirror. When Spector enters, in full rant against the Kennedy family, it's as if Kenney Baden is confronting not Norman Bates but his dead, dotty mother.

It's a splendid rant, though—an aria of deranged high notes and cogent low ones. (Later, Pacino-Spector gets to top this with a burst of fury at the defense lawyers, followed by genial compliments.) Kenney Baden, suffering from an awful cold that will turn into pneumonia—thus depriving Spector of her counsel at the second trial, which resulted in his conviction—is eventually roused to defend him. "You might want to trust me because I'm the last person who both a) believes in you and b) has the power to help your case." By now, Mirren has seized the film's focus as the persistent voice of reasonable doubt in the viewer's head—the heroine who dares to walk into the Minotaur's cave.

Outside the courtroom, a reporter approaches Spector and says, "I'd like to be inside your mind for just five minutes." His tart response: "You wouldn't like it." As a juror, you might not like it either. But this is a movie—call it true-crime fiction—that revels in proximity to a weird man: Mamet's "Phil Spector." Come closer and peer into the cage where the old monster with the strange mane dwells. There he licks his wounds, and roars.



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Match Point

In which I pit my non-algorithm-based marriage against the hard science of eHarmony



DURING THE lowest point of our relationship, my lovely wife

Cassandra and I saw a couples therapist. At the end of our first session, I asked him to rate our marriage on a scale of 1 to 10. He gave us a 7. I think we would have gotten an 8 if Cassandra hadn't married the kind of guy who can understand emotions only through numbers.

Now, however, there's a scientific method to determine how our marriage ranks. The dating site eHarmony designed an algorithm to identify people who would make the happiest 25% of couples based on its research of thousands of marriages. At a psychology convention in February, the site presented findings showing that—contrary to academic beliefs—similar levels of traits like extroversion and intellect, not just general agreeableness, are the key to a successful marriage. If two people aren't enough alike in 29 categories, eHarmony won't match them—and their marriage is going to suck. I had to know how we measured up.

Cassandra and I drove

to eHarmony's headquarters in Santa Monica, Calif., in one car, which I worried would needlessly drag out our breakup if we failed the test. Which I was pretty sure would happen. Our friends and family don't think we're well matched. Cassandra is far cooler than I am, and way less desperate for social validation and ma-

terial success. I, meanwhile, am much better at taking my loved ones' negative traits and making them sound like positives.

We walked into the eHarmony offices, which are decorated much like a sorority house on Valentine's Day if the head of the sorority had some kind of disease where she could not stop cutting colored paper into the shape of hearts. We sat down with Neil Clark Warren, the 78-year-old founder, who went to theological seminary and got a Ph.D. in psychology. His 53-year marriage seemed great, and his wife, who works a few offices down, seemed vivacious and devoted. Though I'm pretty sure Cassandra would be vivacious and devoted if I controlled a database of millions of single chicks.

Warren told us to sit on a couch and then said, "Do you

intend to stay together for your lifetimes?" This seemed like an odd question to ask a married couple, like when your waiter starts off by asking if you're hungry. Then we talked awhile, and I asked him if he was concerned about our marriage. "It would be hard for me to say. It's clearly in the top half." This is the kind of muted encouragement one hears from a doctor after a cancer diagnosis.

Cassandra and I went to separate rooms to take a 110-question test. I finished in 15 minutes, partly because I kept hitting "Extremely" in response to the sex questions, causing the site to say, "Easy tiger!" and tell me to slow down. I was starting to think eHarmony had more in common with Cassandra than I do.

After running three of the eight compatibility models, eHarmony vice president of matching Steve Carter, who also has a Ph.D. in psychology, told us that we were not a match. But on one test, we did score in the 74th percentile, just 1% shy of a match—and exactly the 7th the couples therapist gave us. What kept us from a higher score, Carter said, was

that we both got a 6 for religious interest, and regardless of similarity, eHarmony finds that atheists aren't often happily married. Also, Cassandra is 17% kinder than I am and has 37% more romantic passion. "You need to romance it up," said Carter. "Lots of guys fail on that aspect, and it's bad." Then Cassandra said, "Actually, Joel is pretty good on the romance front and I could be better." For starters, she could give me a sexy pet nickname like the eHarmony questionnaire did.

We were, despite physical evidence, only 2% apart in appearance. Which is key. "Appearance is a bigger deal for us than kindness," Carter said of the company's algorithm. When we looked at the wall of photos of couples who met through eHarmony, almost all of them looked equally attractive. The startling conclusion I gathered from this is that none of the men on eHarmony have a lot of money.

On the drive home, we held hands and felt surprisingly fine. "When we met, I just felt the most comfortable and most myself with anyone I'd ever been with. I didn't think about compatibility," Cassandra had told me on the way to eHarmony. I had also not been thinking about compatibility. I had been thinking about how to get her naked. For two people not even thinking about marriage, we did all right. And the way we handled the test only made me want to stay with her more. Especially now that I know that it's impossible for me to date someone significantly hotter. ■



1. How physically fit are you?
2. How smart are you?
3. How physically attractive are you?
4. How do your genes compare?
5. How romantic are you?
6. How rich are you?
7. How loving are you?

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A PROPOSED CLASS ACTION SETTLEMENT

A proposed Settlement has been reached in a class action case regarding telemarketing calls promoting the goods and services of ADT Security Services, Inc. (now known as The ADT Corporation or ADT, LLC) (collectively "ADT" or "ADT Security Services, Inc."). The name of the case is *Desai, et al. v. ADT Security Services, Inc.*, Case No. 1:11-cv-1925, pending in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois.

What is the lawsuit about?

The lawsuit alleges that certain ADT Authorized Dealers or lead generators, seeking to sell ADT's products and services, made telemarketing calls, either by (1) delivering a pre-recorded message or (2) to cell phones using automated dialing equipment, that violate the federal Telephone Consumer Protection Act (TCPA), 47 U.S.C. §227. ADT and ADT's Authorized Dealers contest the claims. Further, ADT denies that it authorized the calls or is responsible for the acts of those who made them.

What are the terms of the proposed Settlement?

The total amount of the Settlement Fund is \$15,000,000.00. To make a claim, you must complete and send in a claim form or submit it online at RobocallSettlement.com certifying that you received a pre-recorded call or a call to your cell phone using automated dialing equipment that promoted ADT's goods or services. If the Court approves the Settlement, every Class Member who submits a timely and valid claim form will be entitled to an equal payment from the Settlement Fund. The amount of your payment will depend on how many Class Members return valid claim forms. Each household is entitled to make only one claim regardless of the number of telephone calls received. This advertisement contains only a summary of the Settlement terms. You can receive additional details regarding the proposed Settlement, including a copy of the Settlement Agreement, by visiting RobocallSettlement.com or calling 1-800-513-1506.

What are my rights?

- **You can make a claim** to get money from the Settlement Fund. All claim forms must be postmarked or submitted online no later than **June 10, 2013**.
- **If you do not want to be a member of the Class**, you must send a letter and ask to be excluded. Your request must be postmarked no later than **May 13, 2013**, to Robocall Settlement Administrator, c/o A.B. Data, Ltd., EXCLUSIONS, PO Box 170527, Milwaukee, WI 53217. If you do not exclude yourself, you agree never to sue ADT or its Authorized Dealers in the future for the claims covered by this Settlement.
- **You can tell the Court if you do not like this proposed Settlement** or some part of it if you do not exclude yourself. To object, you must file an objection with the Court no later than **May 13, 2013**. You may also hire your own lawyer, at your own cost, to speak for you.

A detailed Notice of Class Action Lawsuit and Proposed Settlement and the claim form are available at RobocallSettlement.com or by writing the Settlement Administrator at the address below. The detailed Notice explains how to exclude yourself or comment on the case. It also explains what rights you are giving up if you stay in the Class.

Will the Court approve the proposed Settlement?

The Court will hold a Final Approval Hearing on **June 21, 2013 at 1:30 p.m.** to consider whether the proposed Settlement is fair, reasonable, and adequate, the motion for attorneys' fees and expenses and the motion for compensation awards to the Class Representatives. If comments or objections have been received, the Court will consider them at that time.

For more information and a claim form, visit RobocallSettlement.com, write to Robocall Settlement Administrator, c/o A.B. Data, Ltd., PO Box 170600, Milwaukee, WI 53217, or call 1-800-513-1506.

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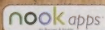
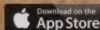
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10 Questions

To help his sons learn strategy, the elder Dr. Emanuel taught them chess—and never let them win



Health-policy wonk **Zeke Emanuel** on his famous brothers, neighborhood politics and knowing how to fight

You're the older brother of Rahm, the mayor of Chicago, and Ari, an extremely successful talent agent. And you're a bioethicist and one of the architects of Obamacare. Isn't writing a book about how great your family is a bit unseemly? I didn't write a book about how great my family is. There are lots of warts and idiosyncrasies and foolishness—a lot to make fun of in the book. I wrote *Brothers Emanuel* because I had begun jotting down stories for my kids. And then we began getting a lot of questions: What did Mom put in the cereal? Three successful brothers, all different areas.

Growing up in Chicago, the Emanuel brothers were fighters. Would we call them bullies these days?

We were definitely fighters. It was a rare night when there wasn't blood on the floor because we were beating each other up. But we were quite the opposite of bullies. We did not go out and attack people, but we did defend ourselves. When we were called kikes, we didn't start that fight, but we did not back down. I'd say that we stood up to bullies.

What's the most pointless competition you three had?

When Ari's fingers got ripped off because [he and Rahm] were competing over an open nut jar. But everything was a competition. Eating was a competition.

Did you give your daughters as much freedom as your mom gave you as kids?

No. We would probably haul my mom in for child neglect now. I was 6 years old. Rahm was 4. I was given 18¢, and I used to walk two blocks from school every day to catch the public bus, not the school bus, home with Rahm.

Your mother was a classic '60s activist. She marched and was arrested and spent some nights in jail. How did that affect you as kids?

Our childhood was unusual. We were a white Jewish family in a part of the city that didn't have many white Jewish families and had a lot of black families who we'd play with. And we'd be called names. It's not the kind of thing that most kids grew up with, even in our era.

As the oldest son, you were the one who followed your father into medicine. Yes. Rahm and Ari owe me big-time for that.

Does it rankle that they are more famous?

Rankle? I am what I am. I've fashioned being a doctor to my own talents and interests.

I think I have made an important difference in the world.

To what do you attribute the Emanuel brothers' success? I would put success in quotes.

We strive. First, I think we got this striving from my mother

to make the world a better place. A second important thing is you never rest on the last victory. There's always more to do, which has sort of created this perpetual-motion machine of energy and exuberance. And maybe the third important thing, my father's admonition that offense is the best defense. We don't give up.

Do you still not have a TV?

I don't own a TV. I don't own a car. I don't Facebook. I don't tweet.

But you have four cell phones. I'm down to two, thankfully.

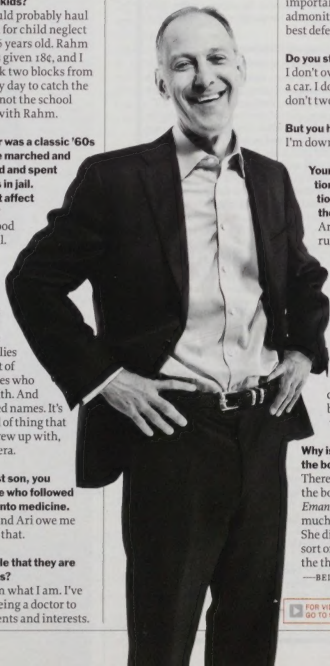
Your brothers are a national source of fascination. Where do you think they'll be in five years?

Ari will be a superagent running a bigger company with even more influence. Rahm would still be mayor of Chicago. I will probably continue to be my academic self. The one thing I can guarantee, none of us will have taken a cruise, none of us will be sitting on a beach with a piña colada.


Why isn't your sister in the book?

There's a short snippet. But the book's called *Brothers Emanuel*. She is adopted, much younger than we are. She didn't grow up in the sort of rough-and-tumble of the three brothers.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE



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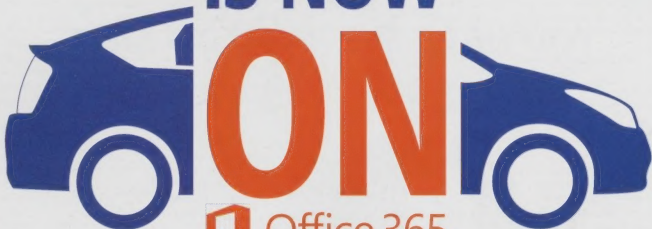
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